THE EMPIRE CLUB

ADDRESSES 1958-1959

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THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

LT.-COL. BRUCE LEGGE, E.D.

PRESIDENT OF THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA
1958-59

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

Addresses 1958-1959

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN

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The Empire Club of Canada

Fifty-sixth year of Issue

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EXCERPT FROM "ORIGIN AND OBJECTS OF THE EMPIRE CLUB" PUBLISHED IN THE YEAR BOOK FOR 1903-1904

On November 18th, 1903, a small meeting was held in Webb's Restaurant, Toronto, mainly on the initiative of Lieut.-Col. James Mason, for the purpose of preliminary discussion. The Chairman in a brief speech pointed to the desirability of an organization, following the plan of weekly luncheons, to be addressed by prominent men, or men speaking with authority upon the issues of the day, and having also a distinctive basis of British Unity in its work and policy.

A sub-Committee met on the following day and appointed . . . . . a Committee to draft a Constitution.

The meeting at which these principles and rules were approved and organization effected was held at the Luncheon hour on November 25th, in Webb's Restaurant, with some seventy gentlemen present . . . . after a discussion of various proposed names . . . . The Empire Club of Canada . . . . was approved by a large majority.

THE ROYAL EMPIRE SOCIETY

AND

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

The Royal Empire Society of London, England, and The Empire Club of Canada at Toronto were both founded for a single purpose and with a common aim:—The strengthening of the bonds of unity within the Empire. This mutual objective is prosecuted with vigorous enthusiasm by the members of these organizations on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.

The opinions and views expressed in the Addresses contained in this volume are those of the speakers themselves and do not necessarily carry the full or partial endorsement of The Empire Club of Canada.

CONTENTS

OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE 1958-59 - v

PAST PRESIDENTS - - - - - - - - vii

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS - - - - - - - xv

JOHN WHITE HUGHES BASSETT
"Report of Another Journey" - - - - 1

E. P. TAYLOR, C.M.G.
"Toronto Should Have the Best" - - - - 13

BISHOP F. H. WILKINSON, M.A., D.D.
"Lambeth and Church Unity" - - - - 23

VISCOUNT KNOLLYS, G.C.M.G., M.B.E., D.F.C.
"Britain To-day—And Tomorrow" - - - 38

SIR GRANTLEY ADAMS, C.M.G., C.B.E., Q.C., D.C.L.
"Challenge of the West Indies" - - - - 46

SIR JOHN BEWLEY GREAVES, C.M.G., O.B.E.
"The Cyprus Question" - - - - - - 60

CHARLES E. WILSON
"Good Neighours" - - - - - - - 79

AIR MARSHAL W. A. CURTIS, C.B., C.B.E., D.S.C., LL.D., E.D.
"Men and Missiles" - - - - - - 91

EDWARD BIGELOW JOLLIFFE, Q.C.
"Chinese Nationalism, Old and New" - - - 100

THE HON. LESTER B. PEARSON, P.C., M.A., LL.D., M.P.
Canada and the Commonwealth" - - - - 117

RABBI MAURICE N. EISENDRATH
"Wide, Wide World" - - - - - - - 128

N. E. TANNER
"Trans-Canada Pipe Lines' Place in the Canadian Economy" - - - - - - - - - 142

CHRISTMAS MEETING
With Theresa Stratas - - - - - - 155

SIR ROBERT WATSON-WATT
"The Dangers of the Nuclear Age" - - - 157

ALLAN LAMPORT AND JOHN C. PARKIN
"Planning for Transportation in the Metropolitan Community" - - - - - - - - 170

THE HON. PAUL MARTIN, M.P.
"Some Considerations in Canadian Foreign Policy" - - - - - - - - 184

CELIA FRANCA
"Canada's Artistic Boom" - - - - - 199

SIR VIVIAN FUCHS
"The Crossing of Antarctica" - - - - 212

THE HON. ROBERT H. WINTERS
"Government and Private Enterprise" - - - 224

A. W. TRUEMAN, B.A., M.A., D. Litt., LL.D., F.R.S.A.
"Trustees of One Hundred Million Dollars" - 235

ANDREW STEWART, D.Sc.Econ., LL.D., F.A.I.C., F.R.S.C.
"A High Standard" - - - - - - - - 248

THE HON. ARTHUR ROEBUCK, Q.C., AND B. T. RICHARDSON
"What Should Be Done With the Canadian Senate?" - - - - - - - - - 261

BRIG. CLAUDE DEWHURST, O.B.E.
"The Berlin Crisis" - - - - - - - - 274

SIR JOHN WEDGEWOOD
"Canadian Trade—Handle With Care!" - - 284

SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING - - - - - - - 295

GOVERNOR G. MENNEN WILLIAMS
"The Free World's Stake in the Under-developed Countries" - - - - - - - - 299

THE HON. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH
"The Soviet's Objectives—Facts and Fancies" - 309

SIR CHARLES ARDEN-CLARKE, G.C.M.G.
"Empire Into Commonwealth" - - - - 318

BRIG. STEPHEN LONGRIGG, O.B.E., D.Litt.
"Oil, Power Politics and the Arab Awakening" - 327

ANNUAL MEETING - - - - - - - - - 341

THE ANNUAL FINANCIAL STATEMENT - - - - 348

OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE 1959-60 - 351

CONSTITUTION - - - - - - - - - - 352

MEMBERSHIP - - - - - - - - - - 358

THIS BOOK, DESIGNED BY MR. JOHN W. GRIFFIN,
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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

THE PRESIDENT, 1958-59 - - - - *Frontispiece*

FACING PAGE

SIR GRANTLEY ADAMS MEETING - - - - 78

HON. CHARLES E. WILSON MEETING - - - - 79

PRESENTATION MEETING TO WALTER COMBER AND ERNEST MILES - - - - - - 110

PRESENTATION TO MISS TERESA STRATAS - - - 111

CHRISTMAS MEETING - - - - - - - 174

ALLAN LAMPORT AND JOHN C. PARKIN MEETING - 175

THE HON. PAUL MARTIN MEETING - - - - 206

CELIA FRANCA MEETING - - - - - - 207

SIR VIVIAN FUCHS MEETING - - - - - 302

GOVERNOR G. MENNEN WILLIAMS MEETING - - 303

THE HON. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH MEETING - 334

SIR CHARLES ARDEN-CLARKE MEETING - - - 335

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

"REPORT OF ANOTHER JOURNEY"

An Address by

JOHN WHITE HUGHES BASSETT
Chairman and Publisher, The Telegram, Toronto

Joint Meeting with the Canadian Club of Toronto

Thursday, June 5, 1958

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. Bruce Legge.

LT.-COL. LEGGE: Today we are to hear at this special meeting of the Canadian Club of Toronto and The Empire Club of Canada, an address by the Publisher of the Toronto Telegram, Mr. John Bassett. This is the second time in recent years that our clubs have met jointly to hear Mr. Bassett report his observations and impressions of his journeys abroad. At a time when all Canadians are so proud of the richness of our ever-unfolding development and so eager to have Canada's strong voice listened to in the councils of the West, it is necessary for us to know of the accomplishments and aspirations, as well as the difficulties and needs of others.

Mr. Bassett's career has revolved around newspapers and he is in a particularly favoured position to bring us accurate reports and wise opinions. Our speaker came to the Telegram as Director of Advertising in 1948, and after a term as General Manager he assumed control as Chairman and Publisher in 1952. He is also the Past President of the Canadian Daily Newspaper Publishers Association, a Director of the Canadian Press and the President of the Sherbrooke Daily Record.

Mr. Bassett attended Ashbury College, Bishop's College School and Bishop's University at Lennoxville, Quebec. During the war he served as an Infantry Major in Italy, with the famed Seaforth Highlanders of Canada. John Bassett is a young man whose interests reach out beyond his profession to sports and to charities, because he is a Director of the Argonaut Football Club, a Director of the Toronto Maple Leaf Hockey Club and a Trustee of the Hospital for Sick Children. This year he was specially honoured as a guest of the Israeli Government on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the founding of the State of Israel.

The Publisher of the Telegram is, therefore, a man of many activities and achievements whom I am pleased to introduce in the phrase of Rabbi Slonim as "the incomparable John Bassett", who will now give us his 'Report of Another Journey'.

MR. BASSETT: It was this month three years ago that I had the pleasure of speaking to you before, upon my return from a rather extended trip to Europe, at which time I had the opportunity of talking to political leaders in France, Italy and England. I am delighted to have this opportunity today to discuss with you some of the things that I talked about with journalists and politicians in Italy and England, and above all, to share with you the experiences that I enjoyed during an eleven day trip to Israel as the guest of that state's government. Some of you will perhaps remember that three years ago I spoke, among other things, of the growing stature of Canada in international affairs and of the respect in which this country is held, both by the people and the political leaders of other nations.

I am sure you will be as pleased as I was to know that Canada not only continues to hold a high place in the affections of the people of other lands, but also that more and more political leaders of friendly nations are looking to this country to set an example of constructive leadership in foreign affairs. By personal experience, I found
garded as an important force on the side of peace and, in
out that everywhere in the western world Canada is re-
fact, the stature of this country is still, in my opinion,

much more fully recognized in Jerusalem, London and Rome than it is in Halifax, Toronto or Vancouver. My view is that one of the most important developments that we, as individual Canadians, must strive for, is to bring to fruition a greater realization of the role we must be prepared to play in world affairs, and an acceptance on the individual level of national responsibility.

I should like to give one example of what I mean, taken from my last visit to Rome. I have twice been back to Rome since I spoke to you three years ago, and my report to you then about conditions in Italy has been fully justified by events. The progress and development and political stability of this country continues. The return to power of the Christian Democrats in the elections of just ten days ago demonstrates that Italians are determined to remain firmly within NATO on the side of the free world. Italians have obviously decided that they cannot afford the political gymnastics which have brought France to the brink of civil war and almost to the abyss of ruin.

But, while I had been in Rome on several occasions stretching back to the War year of 1943, I had never been there on Easter Day as I was this time. The square of St. Peter's on Easter Sunday morning is, of course, one of the most impressive sights in the world, and last Easter under a cloudless sky it presented a vista that was a mixture of such color and solemnity that anyone who beheld it could not possibly forget the sight. The Pope, at 83, spoke from the great balcony of St. Peter's in seven different languages, with the strength and vigor of a man of 60. It was a most remarkable performance and his speech was full of political wisdom and sound advice.

You may ask what this has to do with Canadian adulthood. Well, gentlemen, it has this to do with it. Surely the time has come when this nation can put aside old and outworn religious prejudices so that we can now have diplomatic representation at the Vatican.

This tiny temporal State is one of the best listening posts of Europe. With the exception of Canada and the United States, all the major and most of the minor countries of the world have ministers or ambassadors at the Papal Court. This has nothing to do with religion at all.

At this stage of Canada's growth and importance it just does not make sense that we are dependent on backstairs gossip or some side door channel for the information which we gather from this centre, when we could boldly be welcomed at the front door and gain all the advantages to be had from representation at Vatican City which, of course, has connections all over the world, even behind the Iron Curtain. I believe that the political moment in Canada has now arrived when we have an English-speaking, protestant Prime Minister from western Canada, who could in no way be accused of favouring his own co-religionists, to make this appointment now, to make it before the United States does, because by such a move we would demonstrate clearly our own independence and a further important step in our national process of growing up.

Conditions in Italy are generally good, and when I was there just three and a half weeks ago, the shadow of North America's recession had not lengthened to be discernible in Italy. The post-war building boom continues, and in my view democracy is becoming more firmly anchored every day.

Leaving Rome, we flew direct to Tel Aviv where the next eleven days were to be among the most exciting and rewarding of my life. Every facility in Israel to learn about that country was put at our disposal, not only were we shown everything we asked to see, and not only were we received by the Prime Minister, Ben-Gurion, and the Foreign Minister, Mrs. Golda Meir, but we were introduced to educators, industrialists, soldiers and civilians of every walk of life, and we were taken from the northern border at Lebanon, south to the Red Sea.

It has now become a cliche to describe Israel as a land of contrasts, but, as in most cliches, there is considerable truth in this description. Along the fertile valley of the Sharon, which runs just south of Tel Aviv up to Haifa bordering the Mediterranean Sea, are some of the most fertile fields that one could see anywhere in the world. Along this Mediterranean strip also are luxury hotels as comfortable as any on the Cote d'Azur, and indeed at the Dolphin house owned by the Lourie family and managed by the brother of our guest, His Excellency, who is here today, is comfort and gaiety that reminds one of the British West Indies or the Riviera. Yet, within a few miles of this hotel in the hills of Galilee, Arab shepherds are tending their flocks as they have been doing for more than two thousand years. Again, in contrast to the rich orange groves, the green hills of the north and the lush fields of the Sharon valley, are the bleak desert acres of the Negev, stretching south to Beersheba and on to Eilat, Israel's Red Sea port and window to the East. The Israelis will tell you that they have plenty of land and plenty of water, but unfortunately the water is in the north and the land is in the south. But beyond the physical aspects of the country, Israel, of course, is a land of contrast in its people. There are 2,000,000 inhabitants in an area about twice the size of Lake Ontario, and these people come from 70 different backgrounds and cultures and countries. They are as different in intelligence and education as a Jewish professor from North America, a skilled surgeon from Europe is from a Yemenite Jewish immigrant who has never seen running water, never used a knife or fork, and has probably never slept under any roof except a straw one. The million immigrants taken into Israel in the past ten years have come from the United States, Canada, Europe, Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Iraq, Yemen, South Africa and, indeed, the complete list would cover an atlas of the world. There is a great lesson to gain in what this tiny country has done in building Israeli citizens out of new arrivals from so many different countries, of such vastly different backgrounds, because, gentlemen, they have made citizens out of these new arrivals in a way which warms the heart and excites the mind.

During the time I spent in Israel, I was continually reminded of England during the war years. There was the same dedication of purpose and single-mindedness of effort. There was the same determination on the part of individuals to sacrifice their personal wishes and desires for the national good that was so well known to many of us here during those years of 1939 on in the United Kingdom. Combined with this purpose, was a laughing, gay and friendly humour that again reminded me of the warm and friendly good humour of the English during that great time of their crisis.

The task of making Israeli citizens out of all these new arrivals has, as I have said, been carried out in a most remarkable way. First, religion has played its part because no matter how widely the Jews have been scattered over the past two thousand years, the ancient laws and the ancient prophets have been the one thing that they have held in common. Through the teaching of religion at least some hebrew has been maintained through all the years of wandering. This, then, is a beginning, and from this comes the next step of citizenship, which can best be summed up in the word 'service'.

You will remember that when I spoke to you three years ago, I strongly urged the necessity of compulsory military service in Canada. I did so, not out of any desire to see us develop a military state, although I believed then, as I do now, that preparedness is the first responsibility of citizenship. But I have advocated compulsory military service for most of my adult life because I have always believed that this is the best possible way in a country like Canada to build in our young people a sense of responsibility combined with the idea that they must give something to their country as well as take. I believed also that by mixing young Canadians from varied backgrounds and different geographical parts of the country in a common life of service under discipline, we could build a nation and a national consciousness more quickly than in any other way.

If any proof were needed of the rightness of this view, it is to be found in Israel. In this country every man must serve two and a half years in the army, navy or air force, and every unmarried girl must spend two years. Upon completion of this service, there is a month each year of refresher training, and I have no doubt that soldier for soldier there is no finer army in the world than the Israel army. Its morale is high, its troops are well trained and tough, and in the event of an emergency this country can mobilize 250,000 armed and trained men in 36 hours, which is a remarkable feat by any standard. The Israeli army, of course, has never been defeated in battle, and they believe themselves to be good, even to the point of cockiness. Observers, with more military experience than I, agree with this opinion they hold of themselves, as, of course, do I. But more than this, the army plays a very key role in Israeli life as it is the chief educational force in the country and is, what Prime Minister Ben-Gurion has called, the fire which heats the cauldron in which the nation is being welded. In case after case, the new arrival in Israel is given his first lessons in reading and writing of hebrew in the army. I saw classes of only two or three being instructed in elementary alphabetical hebrew, and then larger classes being instructed in geography and history.

Without the army, there would, of course, be no Israel because after the state was founded ten years ago by the United Nations the Arab countries would have engulfed it during the war of liberation if the army, men and women, side by side, had not fought to give their country birth. But, more than this, modern Israel, which has made greater strides of development in every field of human endeavour in the past ten years than any other free nation, could not have done so without the army to teach its citizens that no matter from whence they came they were united in a common bond of national service and national development. It is not necessary to have spent the few years I did in the army to be inspired by the dedication and the singleness of purpose of these men and women, who carry the main burden of defense in the Middle East for the whole free world, to the high ideal of building a nation united and strong which will embrace within its borders a conception of freedom and western democracy such as we know it here and which exists nowhere else in the whole Middle East. I have not meant to give the impression that Israel is an armed camp. It most certainly is not. Israel passionately desires peace to carry on its great task of providing a state and homeland for all who wish to come.

The material development and growth of the country is impressive. Among other places, we visited Eilat on the Red Sea, which is perhaps the best example of the Israelis' determination to fulfill their Prime Minister's pledge to conquer the Negev, the country's large desert area. Two years ago, There was little more than 500 people in this town which stretches between the borders of Jordan and Egypt for only six miles, and where a few hundred of yards across the sea can be seen the hills of Saudi Arabia. Today, it is a growing city of over 4,000 who are fighting soil and climate to build a new port, a new city, and a new life. The day we were there, the temperature was 104° but, happily, the sea water is cool and refreshing. The people are confident and strong, and the average age of the whole community is under 35. Building goes on everywhere, from new small industries to the spreading town site to the new hospital, new schools and a fine new modern hotel. The building and development is not limited, of course, to the desert areas but continues in the big cities such as Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, and in the development of new farms in the more settled areas. The whole watchword of the country seems to be 'build and grow'.

I do not intend to go into detail about the structure of Israeli society or the make-up of its political parties, but I feel sure you would want me to say something about that country's Prime Miniser and national hero, David Ben-Gurion, who plays such an important part on the world scene. Ben-Gurion is not only one of the most astute politicians alive, but he is a man of great intellectual ability and compelling personality, blending with a deep well of good humour. Only 5′5″, his tremendous brow and out-thrust chin combined with the spectacular tufts of white hair not only make one quite unaware of his lack of height but combined with his personality, he dominates any group he is in. I described him in an article which I wrote for my newspaper as a combination of Churchill and Einstein in appearance, and a combination of the human qualities so well known in the late Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill. This may seem like extravagant praise, but the impression is borne out by the facts. I shall give you two examples. At the age of about 65, he was determined to read the Greek classics in the original, so he set about learning the language so that today he fluently speaks and reads Greek, and is regarded as a Greek scholar. Secondly, as Prime Minister of Israel some half dozen years ago, he was concerned that the emphasis of agriculture was not being sufficiently stressed and, further, that the influx of new immigrants must never be allowed to overlook the fact that development of the land was a first objective of the nation. Instead of making a speech or passing a law, he determined by personal example to make his point. There could be no clearer indication of the character of the man than the fact that he resigned his post as Prime Minister and went into one of the most remote communal farms in the country in the heart of the desert, where he lived as a simple farmer for two years. Needless to say, his example fired the imagination of the country and, indeed, the world. This is the man who leads Israel and the spirit which flows from him is matched by the spirit and inspiration which he derives from his people. It may be taken as a political fact that this nation will survive and grow, or all of its inhabitants will be driven into the sea or put to the sword. There will be no compromise.

Mrs. Golda Meir, the Foreign Minister, is a woman in her early sixties, large of stature, an incessant smoker and a former Milwaukee school teacher. She is representative of all the government leaders, both political and in the civil service, whom I met in Israel in her dedication to her job and in the long hours spent at her desk. Although she still has a sister living in Bridgeport, Connecticut, I felt from conversations with her that her life before coming to Israel no longer held much meaning and was, indeed, somewhat unreal to her. She has immense patience and great capabilities in carrying out what is a most difficult and frustrating task in trying to steer a course between the maintenance of peace and the development of the natural aspirations of her country. All of us are fortunate that a woman of her capacity and intelligence is filling this important role in such an explosive area.

The differences between Arab and Israeli are well known but there is perhaps one fact which is not sufficiently understood. Israel is working to survive as a free democratic nation surrounded by countries whose systems of government range from the complete medieval tyranny of Yemen and Saudi Arabia to the dictatorship of Egypt. Only in Lebanon is there even a pretense of freedom or democracy in the Arab world. Most Canadians regard Egypt, for instance, as a modern progressive state, but the fact is that 80% of the Egyptians are illiterate. In all Arab countries, poverty and disease is the rule, not the exception. In Saudi Arabia, rich in oil beyond the dreams of avarice, the national budget and private purse of the King are one and the same thing. As a result, Arab leaders fear Israel not only because of its unity and its prowess in arms, but because of the development of this country, through the freedom of all its citizens, whereby the poorest and the lowliest have the opportunity to lead a full life with political and religious freedom. This is a threat to existing Arab regimes far beyond the force of tanks or guns.

The Arab leaders know that when the day comes when the Arab peasant realizes that by diversion of the tremendous financial resources of Arab-controlled oil into schools, hospitals and agricultural development, he can throw off the yoke of poverty, ignorance and disease, then the day of the Nassers and the Ibn Sauds is over. The threat of Israel is the age old threat that freedom and progress has always been to ignorance and tyranny. For this reason, the Arab leaders use the same weapon that has been used through the ages and as recently as pre-war Germany, the weapon of passion and 'hate the Jew'.

When we left Israel, we flew direct to London and had eight days there before going on to see the Brussels fair and coming home. While in England, I was received by the Prime Minister, Mr. Macmillan, and had an opportunity also to talk to Sir David Eccles and discuss the possibility of expanding Canadian and British trade. Since my last visit to the Old Country a year ago, I had read that the long struggle of the post-war years had finally brought Britain to the brink of despair and as one American columnist, Mr. Alsop, said, 'He could smell in England the stink of defeat'. I can report that the spirit and assurance of Britain is high and firm. Not only could I find no signs of defeat but I found the same certainty in England that I have always found, that this nation believes it has a most important role to play in world affairs. Mr. Macmillan is calm and unruffled, and obviously believes that he and his party are equipped to lead in these uncertain times. His mandate still has almost two years to run, and in spite of political defeats in municipal and county elections, there is certainly no sign of his giving up or resigning before the normal life of his government has ended.

Of particular importance to Canada, I believe is the fact that in England today there is an opportunity for developing Commonwealth relations, both on the political and industrial side, such as has not existed for some years. I believe that if Canadians seize and develop this opportunity, the Commonwealth can emerge as a stronger force for peace and for freedom than at any time since the war. It is my conviction that the United Kingdom is determined, through the exercise of its qualities of steadfastness and responsible leadership, to continue to play a role which so far no other country of the free world has so ably been able to fill.

And now, finally, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, there are just one or two impressions which I wish to leave with you which, I think, are applicable to Canada at this time. First of all, we know that the Middle East is one of the most serious trouble spots of the world. Nasser has just recently returned from Moscow, and we know Russia is making every effort to extend her influence throughout the Middle East and to stir up trouble there for the West.

What role then should Canada play? I believe that our part should be one of unabashed and full support for the State of Israel. I believe it because I am convinced that in helping Israel and its development we are helping ourselves. If war should come to the Middle East, the only effective fighting forces immediately available are the United States Sixth Fleet and the Israeli army. For this alone, this small country deserves all our help. But from the long term point of view Israeli can mean much more than just an immediate, effective fighting force to the free world. If, through its example, Israel finally can show to the other peoples of that area that freedom and democracy offer a fuller life than dictatorship and autocracy, then peace can come to the whole Middle East. I believe that Israel is giving this example and can achieve this objective provided the western nations are prepared to play their part.

Canada, never having been a colonial power and having no international ambitions except to try and help in keeping the peace of the world, can give a lead in supporting the objectives of Israel. I believe we should do so at every opportunity, both at the government level and through a greater effort on the part of individuals to understand and appreciate what this nation is trying to do.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. B. T. Richardson, President of the Canadian Club.

"TORONTO SHOULD HAVE THE BEST"

An Address by

E. P. TAYLOR, C.M.G.
President of Argus Corporation Limited;
Chairman of the Executive Committee, Massey-Ferguson Limited;
Member of The Canada Council

Thursday, October 2, 1958

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. Bruce Legge.

LT.-COL. LEGGE: At this first regular meeting of The Empire Club of Canada we are to be addressed by a famous Canadian, Mr. E. P. Taylor. Mr. Taylor was born and educated in Ottawa. He attended McGill University where he graduated in Mechanical Engineering in 1923.

Mr. Taylor's business and public affiliations read like a catalogue of the great Canadian Corporations. To indicate the scope of his financial activities I might simply mention that he is a director of many companies, the Chairman of the Board of Canadian Breweries Limited, the Chairman of the Executive Committee of Massey-Ferguson Limited and the President of Argus Corporation Limited.

As might be expected, Mr. Taylor's energies and talents were used by the Governments of Canada, Britain and the United States during the Second World War. Sir Winston Churchill appointed him President of the British Supply Council in North America in 1941 and he was made Executive Assistant to the Canadian Minister of Munitions and Supply in the same year. Then in 1943 he was designated Canadian Chairman of the Joint War Aid

Committee of the United States and Canada. For his war services Mr. Taylor was created a Companion of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George.

Our speaker has also given his enthusiasm to many charities and he is a member of the Board of the Toronto General Hospital and a Governor of Trinity College School. He is the President of the Ontario Jockey Club and an owner whose horses have won the Queen's Plate. Mr. Taylor is an admirer of art and is the distinguished President of the Art Gallery of Toronto. As a result of all his activities the Canadian Government of the day appointed him a member of the Canada Council on its formation.

Mr. E. P. Taylor, C.M.G., is a patron of the arts who can speak with authority on the subject 'Toronto Should Have the Best'.

MR. TAYLOR: May I begin with a quotation: "They all preferred Krieghoff's Canadian scenes to Tom Thomson's. One, a man with a piercing eye and a shrinking wife on his arm, delivered himself of art judgments with the quick decision of a big business man. 'Ho! Ho!' he exclaimed, blocking the traffic in front of Thomson's *The West Wind*, 'so that's the wonderful, marvellous picture they're all talking about. Well, I don't like it. I can't see anything in it.' 'Perhaps' suggested his wife softly 'we could see it better if we were further from it.' 'That's where I'm going to keep' he replied 'well away from it!' and he stalked by the other Thomson pictures as if they were insults to his intelligence."

This is a quotation from the *Toronto Star* of February 8th, 1926, on the opening of the Art Gallery's new wing when Tom Thomson's *The West Wind* was exposed to the public view for the first time. It had just been presented to the Art Gallery by your esteemed contemporary, the Canadian Club of Toronto. The accompanying letter may interest you; it is addressed to R. Y. Eaton, President of the Gallery, and reads: "The Canadian Club of Toronto has pleasure in presenting you herewith Tom Thomson's picture *The West Wind* as a contribution to your permanent collection of paintings. Will you kindly acknowledge receipt." It is signed by Fred McEachern. Today *The West Wind* has come to be the most popular picture in the Canadian collection of The Art Gallery, both in sale of reprints and in response to popularity polls.

Unquestionably the controversy provoked by the presentation of *The West Wind* caused a great many people to go to the Art Gallery to look at this and other pictures, who otherwise might have gone on thinking that art was something to be left to their wives and people who had nothing better to do. Some of these people, in the experience of The Art Gallery, could have discovered that looking at pictures is fun and consequently would have had their lives enriched. This is one of the important functions of an art gallery such as ours.

The Art Gallery of Toronto was incorporated in 1900. A committee had been appointed to implement the clause in the constitution of the Ontario Society of Artists calling for the foundation of an Art Museum. Under the chairmanship of Sir Edmund Walker, who became the Gallery's first president, this committee provided the Gallery with a sound constitution on which to base its future programme. Exhibitions were held at first in the gallery of the Ontario Society of Artists on King Street and its first picture was bought by subscription from the first exhibit, *The Captive Butterfly* by E. A. Hornel.

The Gallery's early development was slow for a reason not generally known. At the outset it had no home; but sometime within the first three years, Sir Edmund Walker was approached by Mr. and Mrs. Goldwin Smith who asked his advice as to the ultimate disposition of their unique residence "The Grange". It was Sir Edmund's suggestion that "The Grange" become the home of the newly incorporated Art Gallery. His suggestion was accepted. At this time the Dundas Street frontage was no longer part of the property. So Sir Edmund Walker and Mr. Z. A. Lash persuaded the Government of Ontario to pass a special act of parliament giving the Gallery the right to expropriate land.

After the death of Mr. Goldwin Smith in 1910, the Gallery and the City of Toronto entered into an agreement which makes the land surrounding the Gallery a public park, maintained by the city. In exchange the city paid the cost of expropriating the Dundas Street frontage and agreed to make a small annual payment to the Gallery.

We took possession of "The Grange" in 1912 and with it a number of the Goldwin Smith paintings. For the most part, the painters' names turned out to be too good to be true. In 1916 we received a group of important pictures from Mr. C. D. Massey. By 1918 the first *new* buildings —the present three south galleries—were completed. Their opening was marked by an exhibition under the joint auspices of the Ontario Society of Artists and the Royal Canadian Academy.

In 1924 Sir Edmund Walker's death was the occasion for his general recognition as a great Canadian and, under the presidency of Colonel R. Y. Eaton, a fund was raised in his memory. From this fund was built the Sculpture Court and Dundas Street entrance. Two of the four flanking galleries were the gift of Mr. and Mrs. H. H. Fudger in memory of their son. This was the occasion of a number of gifts of pictures, notably a collection from Mr. and Mrs. H. C. Cox.

More than 100,000 people came to the inaugural loan exhibition of paintings—where *The West Wind* was shown —some of which have since been acquired by the Gallery. Our growth since then has been a story of gifts and bequests. Beginning with the gift from the late Reuben Wells Leonard and Mrs. Leonard of $10,000 to acquire Canadian works of art, the Gallery and its collection have from time to time through the years benefited from the generosity of art-loving citizens of Toronto, rich and poor, both during their lives and in their wills. Among the largest and more recent bequests was that by the late Frank P. Wood of three important paintings and his magnificent home in Bayview. Hitherto the need for early enlargement of the Gallery's collections had prevented the establishment of any form of permanent endowment. But following the sale of this property, The Art Gallery of Toronto Foundation was created, under Provincial charter, with trustees appointed on recommendation of the Gallery Council, to ensure that the proceeds of this sale would form the beginning of an endowment fund providing income to the Gallery for capital purposes, and at the same time giving assurance to other potential donors that gifts or bequests will be properly administered and, if desired, conserved as endowments. Since the establishment two years ago the endowment funds of the Foundation have been substantially increased by other gifts.

In the early days, The Art Gallery, when in fact it did not *own* many pictures, made a very important contribution to Canadian art by providing a place of exhibition for the various art societies, not least of course its founders, the Ontario Society of Artists. This function the Gallery still performs, though today by agreement with the art societies all of them except the O.S.A. divide the privilege of showing their annual exhibitions between two or three centres.

But also from the early days the Council of The Gallery learned that, if it were to fulfill the important function of attracting to the Gallery people who 'normally' wouldn't be bothered looking at pictures, it was necessary also to bring to Toronto other exhibitions which represented 'once-in-a-lifetime opportunities' and therefore pulled people into the Gallery. The exhibitions initiated by the Gallery and the remarkable attendance records established for many of the numerous collections of major quality exhibited through the years have given Toronto a reputation in art circles which is unequalled by that of any other Canadian city. Eleven years ago England made its first loan abroad of paintings from the National Art Collections. This was for the *Hogarth-Constable-Turner Exhibition* at which our attendance of approximately 75,000 compared favourably with that of Chicago and New York, the only other two cities privileged to exhibit these British masterpieces. In six weeks of 1951 the exhibition of *Hapsburg Art Treasures* drew 134,000 people to our Gallery. For the *17th Century Dutch Exhibition* of three years ago our average daily attendance of 2,330 was 10% higher than that for the same exhibition when shown at the Metropolitan Museum in New York City; and the warm response with which the exhibition of *18th Century British Painting* was received this past winter is further evidence of the enthusiasm of the Torontonian for exhibitions of this calibre.

As we all know, but for one man, what we have come to call that important segment of this earth now known as the "Free World" might have perished. I refer, of course, to Sir Winston Churchill. We all remember that when, with all his frightening responsibilities, and when he carried our fate in his hands, that he found time to engage in his favourite pastime of painting. In retrospect one must come to the conclusion that this gave him relief from tensions and helped to make the decisions that saved us from destruction. Not only did he paint whenever he could do so, but he also continued his historical writings, and maintained his interest in the turf. It is evident that such diversions played an important part in helping him to keep his health, sanity, and perspective in the face of the tremendous burdens he carried. I well remember one day early in September, 1941, when I was summoned to London to receive instructions from the Prime Minister, and the then Minister of Supply, Lord Beaverbrook, relative to my new appointment as President of the British Supply Council in North America. After the three of us had lunched very well indeed at 10 Downing Street, and disposed of the matters relative to the purpose of our meeting, we sat in brilliant sunshine in the garden and I listened while the two veterans of many political campaigns regaled each other and me for more than an hour with reminiscences of their political and other escapades in more happy years, interspersed with many spicy stories, and without a single reference to the war and the perils which faced us all at that time. It is truly a great and valuable gift to be able to close one's mind briefly and frequently to the main job, and recharge one's batteries during a period of stress.

This Spring for four hours on a Sunday afternoon more than 1,100 people per hour entered the Gallery to see paintings by Sir Winston Churchill. At the same time that these paintings by the most famous *amateur* artist in the world were hanging in our centre galleries, a collection of Australian art was in the eastern galleries, and in the western galleries were hung some of the great pictures from the Gallery's 'Old Masters'. The Gallery staff tell me that the crowds who came primarily to see Sir Winston's paintings showed great interest both in the sometimes rather violent and vigorous Australian pictures and in our own European Masters.

In other words, once again a number of people who might never have learned of the satisfaction to be obtained from looking at pictures were given an opportunity to find out. This, let me repeat, is an important function of this Gallery. Obviously the better and more comprehensive its collection, the more likely it is to make converts to this kind of satisfaction. For with pictures and sculpture, as is the case with music and literature, different people like different things.

The loans we have made for our collection have increased annually until last year they reached the high total of 155 paintings. These went to institutions all across Canada and the States, to Europe—some of our things are now in Venice—and in Australia. The great Franz Hals bequeathed by the late Frank P. Wood has already been lent to Indianapolis and San Diego, as well as to Vancouver, and is constantly in demand. This gives some evidence of the importance of our own collection in our colleagues' eyes.

Just as his contemporaries, who are accustomed to the European style of landscape painting, were shocked by the bold impressionism of Tom Thomson, so many of us today find it difficult to appreciate the smears and blobs that we are told represent the best of modern art. Whether 20 years from today some of these modern pictures will be "the most popular in the Gallery" remains to be seen. The point I am making is that whether you like abstract art or not, there is still a wide selection for you at The Art Gallery from the most advanced modern paintings, through Canada's own Group of Seven, the French Impressionists, 19th century North American and European, the 18th century, the 17th century and, preceding them, the great Italian Masters. Recently we have employed experts to value our collection for insurance. Their estimate of the value of the Old Masters is $1,700,000; of our Canadian collection approximately $300,000. This also means of course that for our children—twenty-eight to thirty thousand visit the Gallery every year—there is an opportunity to see gathered in one place the essential history of art. It also means that The Art Gallery of Toronto adds to the attraction of our city as a tourist centre.

While the Gallery is a civic educational institution, it is not, as many suppose, administered or financed by the City. The Art Gallery, incorporated under provincial statute, is governed by a Council, 15 of whose members are elected for five-year terms by the membership of The Art Gallery, and five appointed annually by the City of Toronto Council. Created by, and reporting to this body are seven Committees, each made up of seven to ten Gallery members, responsible for various aspects of the Gallery's interests and activities.

Undoubtedly, the most active group in the Gallery is the Women's Committee which, since its formation under the late Lady Kemp ten years ago, has made so great a contribution that the idea has been adopted by many of the major galleries in the United States and Canada.

You will of course be interested to know how we are financed. As you can gather from my previous remarks, our capital investment of buildings and works of art has been entirely created by private gifts. On the other hand our current operating budget of almost $200,000 (about $1.00 per year per visitor, or about 15¢ per head of Metro Toronto's population) is met by a variety of means. Although we receive $50,000 under our agreement with the City to admit the public free on Saturdays and Sundays, and as rental for Grange Park, a smaller but substantial sum for rents and services from the Ontario College of Art, and a grant during the past two years from Metro Toronto, we are dependent for almost half of our operating revenues on membership fees and donations.

There are today more than 4,250 members of The Art Gallery. These are people who, in return for a modest annual fee, enjoy the following privileges:

1. Free admission for themselves and families to the Gallery and to art galleries in other cities;

2. Invitations to official openings;
3. Receipt of information on all Gallery activities with priorities for lecture tickets and art-class enrolment;
4. A share in the control of the Gallery policy through the 15 members elected to Council by the membership.

This membership has doubled during the past 10 years but it is still less than it should be in a city of our size. I am convinced that there are many thousands more people in Toronto who would find membership in The Art Gallery a rewarding experience if they would establish a habit of visiting the Gallery each time something *new* is on show. This month, for example, you have the opportunity of seeing The Karolik Collection which is probably the greatest collection of 19th century paintings by our friends from south of the border that is ever likely to visit this city. At the same time you will see the work of four promising living Canadian artists and, as always, a part of our permanent collection will be on view.

But membership fees and miscellaneous minor revenue earned in the course of operations fall far short of meeting the gap between the budget total and that provided by municipal and government bodies. Since 1942 that gap has been filled by the generosity of a number of well-known corporations and private citizens who have responded to our annual plea for financial support. And, if I may be permitted, I take this opportunity to acknowledge our debt to these friends by saying "Were it not for you, we could not carry on". The growth in number, and in some cases in the size of these donations during the past few years, has been most encouraging and has made it possible to assure donors that a substantial portion of each subscription will be used to purchase works of art. Of $62,160 subscribed this past year to our Sustaining and Picture Fund by 153 corporations and 28 individuals, only $33,000 was needed to meet our maintenance budget. The remainder will be used to enlarge our collection.

This is encouraging but it is not enough. If we are to maintain our Gallery as one worthy of this city we must, as I have said before, have more funds available each year to add to our collection and to rehabilitate our plant. This is only possible through the continued generosity of our Gallery supporters among the business firms of this city and the enlargement of their number. As you move through the busy galleries on a Sunday afternoon you realize that the citizens of Toronto—the business employees of the city—are the true beneficiaries of this generosity.

In conclusion then, I hope I have left you with the conviction that Toronto has an Art Gallery of which this city may be proud; that it performs several important services of which perhaps the two most important are—firstly, making it possible for more and more of our citizens to discover for themselves the satisfaction that enjoyment of art can bring; and secondly, encouraging Canadian artists, both giving them a good setting in which to display their work and—as often as our funds allow—by buying their pictures. From what I have said, I trust you will agree that, in spite of the legitimate priority which hospitals and similar institutions take in public support, a pretty fair job has been done to build up our Gallery through the years. But we must continue the work. We must do better. The size and importance of our city justifies the statement that "Toronto Should Have The Best".

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. A. E. M. Inwood, a Past President of the Club.

“LAMBETH AND CHURCH UNITY”

An Address by

THE RIGHT REVEREND
FREDERICK HUGH WILKINSON, M.A., D.D.,
Bishop of Toronto

Thursday, October 9, 1958

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. Bruce Legge.

LT.-COL. LEGGE: Our speaker, Bishop Wilkinson, is a scholar, a concert organist of note, a much decorated soldier and a beloved clergyman. It is not surprising that he studied for the Church because his father was Rector of St. Peter's in Toronto for many years, and his brother the Right Reverend Heber Wilkinson is the Bishop of Amritsar in India.

Bishop Wilkinson is the sort of clergyman of whom Victor Hugo must have been thinking a century ago when he wrote this wonderful comment on priests and soldiers. “Nothing will mix and amalgamate more than an old priest and an old soldier. In reality, they are the same kind of man. One has devoted himself to his country upon earth, the other to his country in heaven. There is no other difference”.

Victor Hugo's general assertion may be too sweeping, but in the case of our speaker the soldier and the priest are not only the same kind of man, but the same man. Bishop Wilkinson had a gallant record as a soldier in the First World War. For his heroism he was recognized on three occasions and awarded the Military Medal and two Bars. Throughout his ecclesiastical life he has retained an interest in the army as the padre of several regiments, and he is now the Honorary Chaplain to the famous Queen's Own Rifles of Canada.

Our speaker came to Toronto as Rector of St. Paul's Church in succession to great preachers like the Hon. and Reverend Dr. H. J. Cody, and to Archbishop Renison. Bishop Wilkinson's tenure at St. Paul's was an illustrious one and he was installed Bishop of Toronto in 1955. In that role he has zealously led the campaign to extend the Church to the new areas which have developed since the war.

In choosing his subject, Bishop Wilkinson has demonstrated a nice bravery because he will speak on the subject 'Lambeth and Church Unity'. That is about a subject that has evoked controversy in Christendom for centuries. Ladies and gentlemen, I am honoured to introduce the Right Reverend Frederick Hugh Wilkinson, M.A., D.D., the Lord Bishop of Toronto.

BISHOP WILKINSON: It was with some diffidence that I accepted the very kind invitation of the Empire Club to speak to you on "Lambeth and Church Unity". I have no desire to burden you with the domestic deliberations of the Anglican bishops, but as many of the matters which were under debate concerned the welfare of all people, or were of interest to most churches, and of special concern to some, I am glad to give you some interpretation of the Conference and its findings. The word 'conference' reminds me that when that distinguished Canadian, Mr. Leonard Brockington, Q.C., of famed eloquence and wit, addressed the Canadian Bar Association at its annual convention in Banff some years ago, he informed them that Gladstone once described the word 'convention' as "a noun of multitude signifying many but not much". There is always the tendency to exaggerate the value of any international gathering, or on the other hand to write it off as of little consequence. When I was in Edinburgh, the International Conference of Mathematicians was in session. I did not read of any earth-shattering pronouncement emanating from this learned body, but I was intrigued by a whimsical editorial which appeared in "The

Scotsman". Its theme was the inability of the ordinary man to understand the esoteric and fascinating world of mathematics. Said the writer, "The intelligent public would be grateful for any help the mathematicians gave it in understanding what was going on."

The Lambeth Conference was the ninth assembly of Anglican bishops from all parts of the world. It was presided over by the 99th Archbishop of Canterbury—a man of vigorous intellect, amazing physical stamina, a great leader and ecclesiastical statesman. The opening service was held in the ancient and historic Cathedral of Canterbury where we were received by the Archbishop sitting in the Chair of St. Augustine, the first Archbishop of Canterbury. The deliberations of the session, with some 320 bishops assembled, were held in the Great Hall of Lambeth Palace, an historic group of buildings on the bank of the Thames where one views across the river the majestic Mother of Parliaments and the distant towers of Westminster Abbey. There were present some 90 bishops from the Episcopal Church of the United States, and bishops from Japan, Korea, India, Pakistan, Malagasy, Africa, Arabia, Australia, and from most areas of the world. Among them was a saintly looking man who had spent nearly forty years in Polynesia. Sitting in the sessions near me was a bishop who at one time had been Bishop of Singapore. During the war he was imprisoned and severely tortured, but he lived to baptize some of those who had tortured him. We were delighted by the presence of a Maori bishop, and another of Mexican ancestry. Of special interest to me was a bishop, a veteran of World War I, who was the son of a famous bishop of Liverpool and whose doctor brother had been awarded posthumously a bar to the Victoria Cross. The diversity of interests and activities of members of the Conference was indicated in the fact that one had been an Arctic explorer for several years, another, of great stature and benevolence, had been a prize wrestler at Yale; and yet another had just completed his 995th episcopal visit by air as Bishop of North-Western Australia. There were present many others whose names were known to me as noted church leaders and theologians.

I remember the Bishop of Kimberley, famous for its jewelled wealth, exclaiming as he was introduced to the Bishop of Niagara, "Ah, Niagara, lots of water but no diamonds."

The international and catholic character of the Conference was intensified by the large number of distinguished delegates who came to bear greetings from many of the great churches of Christendom. There were the representatives from the Scandinavian churches, the Right Reverend Dr. E. G. Gulin, Bishop of Tampere in Finland, whom I had met several times in the City of Toronto; the Right Reverend Dr. Otto Dibelius, Bishop of Berlin and Brandberg, a truly great apostle and leader of the church in Europe, he represented the large membership of the German Evangelical Church; The Right Reverend Dr. John A. Fraser, the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; the representative of the Free Church Federal Councils of England, the Moderator, the Reverend Dr. Ernest A. Payne; the President of the Methodist Conference; the President of the Baptist Union; the representative of the Congregational Union of England and Wales; and the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of England. Other distinguished visitors were the Archbishop of Utrecht bearing greetings from the Old Catholics; bishops and priests of the Orthodox churches representing a multitude of Christians in the world; of the Ecumenical Patriarchage of Constantinople, the Metropolitan Pitirim of Minsk; of the Church of Russia, the Metropolitan Justin of Moldavia; of the Church of Rumania, the Metropolitan of Varna and Preslav; of the Church of Bulgaria, Bishop Anthony of Sergievo; and of the Armenian Church, the Right Reverend Bessak Toumayan. It is the growing friendship between the churches of the world, as expressed in a Conference such as this, and through the World Council of Churches, that is one of the most hopeful signs of modern Christendom.

In a statesman-like sermon, delivered in Canterbury Cathedral, the Archbishop of Canterbury spoke on the theme of the Conference, namely, "Reconciliation". I may say that the Lambeth Conference itself was an expression of, and experience of an ever-growing sense of unity and fellowship within our own communion; especially when one remembers that the idea of a Lambeth Conference, which was first suggested by Canadians in 1866, was received with considerable suspicion and opposition overseas. The essence of the Archbishop's address was that: "this distracted world desperately needs to discover how and at what price friendship, harmony and peace among men can be had. To tell the world the answer, and to live the answer among all people is the most urgent service demanded of the church. This work of reconciliation cannot be done by ourselves nor for ourselves alone. It is only in true fellowship with churches of other communions and in co-operation with them, and in the humility and generosity which friendship teaches us, that we can learn to tread together the narrow path along which our Lord is guiding us and them." Lambeth Palace, the traditional seat of the Archbishop of Canterbury, dates from about 1190 and has become increasingly a centre of Christian world fellowship, though historians inform us that Archbishop Baldwin first established himself there in the 12th century in order to escape from the jealousy of the monks at Canterbury. The magnificent hammer-beam roof of the Great Hall in which we met in daily session was partially destroyed by bombs during the last war. It has been restored with that skill and workmanship for which the English craftsmen are famous. The chapel of the Palace was completely gutted by bombs but in its present beauty it seems to have been standing for centuries. The various aspects of the theme of 'Reconciliation' were considered by the five major committees into which the bishops were divided. The first dealt with "The Word of Reconciliation, the Holy Bible: Its authority and message"; the second, "The Reconciling of the Churches: Church Unity and the Church Universal"; the third, "The Communication of the Message of Reconciliation"; fourth, "The Reconciling of Conflicts between and within Nations"; and, fifthly, "Reconciliation in Families: The Family in Contemporary Society."

The destiny of men and nations depends ultimately upon their belief in an authority which is eternal, on values which are indestructible, and upon a divine purpose which is invincible. The Bible has been well described as being "not so much the record of inspired books but as the record of inspired men". During the past century and more, the books of the Bible have been subjected to the most criticism, literary, textual and historic. We realize more than ever how the writers of the Bible (written over a period of one thousand years) have made use of the parable, allegory, poetry and proverb as well as sober historical fact. "The mountains skipped like rams and the little hills like sheep" is a magnificent hyperbole of creation's joy. In stark contrast, however, could there be a more sober simple statement of historical fact than that of the crucifixion of our Lord in St. Luke's Gospel: "there they crucified Him". The poetry of the Song of Songs in the Old Testament and the accounts of the acts of God in the dramatic beginnings of the Christian Church and its history, as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, have little relationship to one another. We give due respect to the statement of those who have some claim to authoritative judgment because of research and scholarship. In all humility I would claim that the statement of the bishops at Lambeth, because of the scholarship which they represent or reflect, deserves serious attention when they say "It is, however, our conviction that the Bible has come through this travail with its authority not damaged but enhanced". In confirmation of this statement one can also draw attention, on the one hand to the revolt among scholars of all Christian communions against a disbelief in the supernatural action of the living God and a purely naturalistic view of life and human society, and on the other, the rise of a new Biblical theology throughout the Christian Church. Resolution No. 1 reads: "The Conference affirms its belief that the Bible discloses the truths, about the relation of God and Man, which are the key to the world's predicament and is therefore deeply relevant to the modern world."

In its concern for the suffering, hungry, dispossessed people of the world the Conference calls upon Christians in more favoured lands to use their influence to encourage their governments in the task of relieving poverty by a generous sharing of their material and technical resources with those in need. I am in wholehearted agreement with the imperative words of a London journalist, Mr. William Clark, in a recent well-informed and well-stated despatch on this subject entitled "The West must join the world's crusade against poverty". He pointed out that the West's great problem is to avoid becoming a small wealthy minority isolated from and therefore threatened by the great revolution of our time, which Mr. Adlai Stevenson describes as "the revolution of rising expectations". He went on to say "If the Atlantic community is to become a partner of the underdeveloped countries in their struggle for existence, not patronage or charity but partnership must be regarded as the essential goal." Then he adds, "The second half of the twentieth century is going to be dominated by this problem of creating a world community able to deal with the enormous expansion in both population and expectations of the under-developed countries, and that this is a far more important problem than who reaches the moon first." In the statement on peace the Conference underlines this objective, "True peace means an order in which men are free to live under justice and according to righteousness; in which the resources of the world are developed and distributed for the benefit of all; in which the only war is against poverty, ignorance, disease, and depression; in which the results of man's knowledge and discovery are used not for destruction but for enlightenment and health." Following this geophysical year the Director General of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization has made a proposal of the greatest importance. It is "that the United Nations organize an international year of War on Hunger". The Christian Church is no private religious club of the western world. It existed from the beginning and it now exists to seek, to save and to serve the whole of mankind. We cannot be little people or little Christians in the face of the whole of humanity's need. The parable of the Good Samaritan needs to be followed and demonstrated in every town and hamlet of the human race. This is a time for greatness.

The primary need for Reconciliation is among the Christian communions and the Christian people of the world. If the Christian churches cannot achieve a greater measure of Christian unity, and, by the grace of God, ultimately the true unity of the church, how can the nations of the world achieve unity and concord? This is clearly set forth in a statement from the message put out at Lambeth, "A divided Church cannot heal the wounds of a divided world." "Therefore, our most urgent concern has been with our own divisions. We thank God for the unmistakable evidence which has come before us that in Asia and Africa, as well as in Britain and America, Christian churches are actively moving towards a greater measure of unity." The first Lambeth Conference held in 1867, the request for which came from Canada and the New England States, and the holding of which at that time was viewed with both suspicion and opposition in some quarters in England, was the beginning of an increasing fellowship in the Anglican Communion throughout the world, of which the most recent Lambeth Conference was a notable expression. From the first, the Lambeth Conference have been concerned with the question of the great problem and duty of Christian unity. A basis for union between the Christian churches was laid down by the Lambeth Quadrilateral of 1888: The Lambeth Quadrilateral required as a necessary basis of re-union: (a) The Holy Scriptures as the rule of faith. (b) The Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed as the statement of faith. (c) The two sacraments ordained by Christ Himself. (d) The historic episcopate locally adapted, in the methods of its administration, to varying needs. The requirements of this Quadrilateral have been confirmed by succeeding Lambeth Conferences. The Lambeth Conference of 1920 issued a statesman-like and moving appeal to all Christians. Here is the essence of it, "We believe that God wills fellowship. By God's own act this fellowship was made in and through Jesus Christ and its life is in His spirit. We believe that it is God's purpose to manifest this fellowship, so far as this world is concerned in an outward and united society, holding one faith, having its own recognized officers, using God-given means of grace, and inspiring all its members to the world-wide service of the Kingdom of God. This is what we mean by the Catholic Church. The causes of division lie deep in the past and are by no means simple or wholly blameworthy. The time calls us to a new outlook and new measures. This means an adventure of goodwill, and still more of faith, for nothing less is required than a new discovery of the creative resources of God. The spiritual leadership of the Catholic Church in days to come for which the world is manifestly waiting depends upon the readiness with which each group is prepared to make some sacrifices for the sake of a common fellowship, a common ministry and a common service to the world. We do not ask that any one communion should consent to be absorbed in another. We do ask that all should unite in a new and great endeavour to recover and to manifest to the world the unity of the Body of Christ for which he prayed."

It is under the authority and direction of this appeal that conversations between a number of Christian churches on both sides of the Atlantic have taken place, and that schemes for the re-union of negotiating churches have been prepared for discussion in Africa, India and elsewhere. Before referring to the schemes of re-union considered by the Conference, and conversations which have taken place between the Anglicans and various other church bodies, it is essential that I quote some of the important sentences from the Committee's statement on Christian unity: "The Conference expresses its ardent longing for the healing of the divisions of the church, and thanks God for the closer fellowship fostered by the World Council of Churches, and the steady growth in strength and unity of the Church of South India; and then stresses these fundamental facts. The nations and races of the world are divided by strife and fear. In such times the challenge to Christian people to demonstrate unity in Christ is all the more urgent. In obedience to this mission we must continually pray and work for the visible unity of all Christian believers of all races and nations in a living Christian fellowship of faith and sacrament, of love and prayer, witness and service." The

Conference endorsed the report of the Committee on Unity expressing commendation of the development of that remarkable though controversial experiment in church unity of the Church of South India as to its structure, episcopal and pastoral ministry, its liturgy and witness. Increasing communications between the Church of South India and the provinces of the Anglican communion was recommended. This significant observation was made with regard to this first effort to unite Episcopal, Presbyterian and Congregational ministries: "It may well be that the church of the west may be able to learn from the polity of the Church of South India lessons which would restore to its exercise of episcopacy more of its primitive pastoral character as the office of Father in God."

The Conference was impressed by the proposed scheme for church union in Ceylon and with unanimous agreement informed the churches concerned that if this scheme went forward the Anglican communion would be willing to enter into full communion with the resulting Church of Lanks, as it will be called. The churches involved in this scheme are: The Church of India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon; The Methodist Church in Ceylon; The Baptist Churches in Ceylon; The Presbyterian Churches in Ceylon; The Jaffna Diocese of The Church of South India. The beginning of this effort for church union goes back as far as the Edinburgh Missionary Conference of 1910. So one can see that the roots of the spirit of unity go deep into the soil. The second scheme to be considered was that of the plan of church union in North India and in Pakistan. The Conference was anxious that this scheme should be carried through so that the ministry of the united church should be fully accredited in the eyes of all its members, and so far as may be, of the church throughout the world. The churches involved in this proposed plan of re-union are: The Council of the Baptist Churches in Northern India; The Church of the Brethren in India; The Disciples of Christ; The Church of India, Pakistan and Ceylon; The Methodist Church (British and Australia Conferences); The Methodist Church in Southern Asia; The United Church of

Northern India. The question with which the Conference was concerned was not one of faith or doctrine, for it entertained no doubts about the orthdoxy of the faith of the uniting churches, but that the integration of the ministry should be brought about in such a satisfactory way that the church, once it was inaugurated, could be in full communion with the Anglican communion. Certain recommendations to this effect were passed by the Committee. I may say that the Conference recommended the Ceylon scheme for church union as a model for future discussions between other groups of churches.

The Church of England is a comprehensive church. More than one of its Archbishops of Canterbury have come from north of the border. There is an eminent and distinguished churchman in a post of international fame in London who, as a Scot, proudly boasts that he has not one drop of English blood in his veins. It is only to be expected that in conversations regarding re-union, the Church of England, the Church of Scotland and the Presbyterian churches are bound to be beset by a number of major theological and ecclesiastical difficulties and the emotional reactions caused by racial pride and the old historical disagreements. The Christian church owes much to the great theologians of Scotland, who in my estimation often possess a real degree of mysticism as well as a large measure of intellect. You may have heard the story of the atheist who standing outside a classroom in a highland town overheard the children being given a lesson on religion. When they were dismissed he said to one small boy, "I will give you an orange if you will tell me where God is." And the boy promptly replied, "I'll give you two oranges if you tell me where he isn't."

While the question of re-union raises many problems of habit, outlook and custom in worship and practice the most difficult problem is that of integrating the Episcopal, Presbyteral and Congregational ministries. In an act of re-union no one communion should consent to be absorbed in another, nor should the honour and authority of the ministry of any church be diminished. The truly equitable approach to union, states the Lambeth Conference of 1920, is "by way of mutual deference to one anothers consciences". The same Conference in offering episcopacy as the best instrument for maintaining the unity and continuity of church stated, "We can only say that we offer it in all sincerity as a token of our longing that all ministries of grace, theirs and ours, shall be available for the services of our Lord in a united church." The Anglican Church has always had a deep respect and friendship for the Church of Scotland and the Churches of the Presbyterian Communion. You will be interested to know that the report of the Committee considered, "that Anglicanism has something to learn from the Presbyterian practice, and further that we understand the historic suspicion by Presbyterians of any authoritarianism on the part of bishops, a suspicion which, in fact, is shared by many Anglicans." The blending of the episcopal system with that of elders might be one of the most valuable advances in efforts towards church unity. On the Presbyterian side there was a willingenss to consider the functions of a bishop as they were recognized by the Anglican Communion so long as the office was duly integrated with the presbytery in the whole church. And on the Anglican side there was a corresponding willingness to consider the complementing and strengthening of the episcopate in Anglican churches by ensuring the corporate functions of episcope in the Presbyterian Orders. That these conversations are taking place I think is most heartening and significant.

Conversations which have taken place in the United States between representatives of the Protestant Episcopal Church and those of the Methodist Church, and recent conversations between the Methodist Church of England and representatives of the Church of England, have not been concerned with the objectives of organic union or corporate union involving constitutional schemes. These discussions have proceeded in the hope of exploring the possibility of intercommunion between churches in the same area on the basis of provision for parallel but mutually acceptable episcopates. These conversations and explorations were along the lines suggested in a sermon preached by the Archbishop of Canterbury in Cambridge in 1946 when, discussing a step forward in church relations, he said, "The non-episcopal churches have accepted the principle that episcopacy must exist along with other elements in their united church. It may be that in a reunited church they could guard themselves in the constitution against abuses of episcopacy but they could do so far more effectively by taking it into their own system. The Church of England has not yet found the finally satisfying use of episcopacy in practice. If non-episcopal churches agree that it must come into the picture could they not take it and try it out on their own ground first. I should hope that in preparation for it along the lines of recent Canadian proposals each communion, episcopal and non-episcopal, should contribute the whole of its separate ministry to so many of the ministers of the other as were willing to receive it." In encouraging the continuance of the conversations, the Conference does so with a view to the making of concrete proposals as offering a possible first step on the way to re-union in the particular historic situations in which the churches are placed; but on the understanding that organic union is definitely accepted as the final goal, and that any plans for the interim stage of intercommunion are definitely linked with provisions for the steady growing together of the churches concerned.

How does all of this affect us in Canada as members of Christ's Holy Catholic Church? In the first place, I would say that the Report of the Conference, and all that it indicates by way of guidance and encouragement to the cause of church unity, should challenge us to foster a far deeper spirit of unity among all members of the churches in Canada. One of the first and ablest architects of the Ecumenical Movement was a Canadian, the late Bishop C. H. Brent, a graduate of Trinity College and a beloved Bishop of the Diocese of Western New York. The faith of the Christian Church, and the work of the World Council of Churches and the Canadian Council of Churches ought to become the intelligent pursuit of all Christian people. Christianity is as simple in its essence as the air we breathe and as profound in its nature as the universe in which we live. Anyone can divide, anyone can separate, anyone can live in isolation, anyone can make a primary principle out of a second or third-rate conviction, but it takes the true Christian spirit in home and in church to "speak the truth in love and grow up into Him in all things, which is the head, even Christ." The Committee on Unity is desirous that the spirit of Christian unity will prevail among all Christian people while not minimizing acute difficulties with regard to doctrine and policy. "The logic of unity requires the re-union of all Christendom in God's time and in the way in which He shall dictate." One of the resolutions, No. 38 "welcomes the permission given by Roman Catholic authority for contacts, discussions, and co-operation between Roman Catholics and other Christians, as contained in the document, 'Instruction to Local Ordinaries on the Oecumenical Movement', issued by the Supreme Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office in December 1949; and expresses the hope, that these permissions may be more widely and generously used and that they may be further extended in the interests of Christian understanding and fellowship." The World Week of Prayer for Christian Unity is being increasingly participated in by Christians of every communion.

In the second place, I hope that the Lambeth Report and Resolutions will give direction and encouragement to the conversations between the United Church of Canada and the Anglican Church of Canada. We ought not to be hasty, and we cannot be discouraged. Ten years of conversations is a small time in the life and history of the church. The road to Christian re-union is not an easy one; the road is not a short one. Unity will not be brought about merely by plans of re-union or by the enthusiasm of negotiators. Plans for re-union cannot take place on the basis of the lowest common denominator of Christian affability but on that of the highest common factor of the divine will, the divine nature of the church and the divine love. All Christian people believe in the power of prayer, but how many members of Christian churches pray today for Christian unity? I would imagine the number is very small. There will be no Christian unity without first of all a great and increasing crusade of prayer. God works miracles, not we ourselves. In the Book of Common

Prayer there is a Prayer for Unity which is but seldom used. It was first placed in the Prayer Book at the time of the accession of the House of Hanover. It is a very realistic prayer: it prays that we may be delivered from our "prejudices and hatreds". Unity requires of all Christian people penitence, humility, sacrifice and the practice of love and charity with our Christian neighbours. It requires of us a deeper understanding of the nature of the church, of its ministry, its order and its work. It requires of all Christian people a deep concern for the disunity of the church, a willingness to forget past mistakes and start a great and new adventure; a greater measure of the love of God and the attainment by all Christians of a higher dimension of spiritual maturity.

In conclusion let me say then: Why should we seek the re-union of the Christian church? Because we believe it is the will of God; because a divided church cannot heal the wounds of a divided world; because a divided church cannot receive the full blessings of God; because the younger churches have no desire to perpetuate the differences and disunity of Western Christendom; because divisions among Christians are a scandal to those without the church; because the conscience of Christians in fellowship today impels them to seek unity; because the rise of the liturgical movement has deepened the desire for Christian unity in worship and fellowship; because the unity which we seek is not one of "compromise for the sake of peace but comprehension for the sake of truth"; because it is the natural expression of the supreme truth about God, that God is love. Finally, we need to remind ourselves of the prayer of the Divine Founder of the church that "they all might be one", remembering always that "there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit; and there are differences of administrations, but the same Lord; and there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all."

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Z. S. Phimister, Third Vice-President of the Club.

"BRITAIN TO-DAY— AND TOMORROW"

An Address by

THE VISCOUNT KNOLLYS, G.C.M.G., M.B.E., D.F.C.
Chairman of Vickers Limited

Thursday, October 16, 1958

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. Bruce Legge.

LT.-COL. LEGGE: Distinguished guests and members of The Empire Club of Canada. If the question were asked, 'What do you associate with the name of Vickers?' the probabilities are that most of us would immediately answer 'machine guns'. But Vickers Limited does much more than fashion swords and spears and armaments. I am not certain whether or not it creates plowshares and pruning hooks, but through its associated companies it makes almost every type of complicated machinery from nuclear engineering equipment to earth-moving machines; from accounting calculators to scientific instruments; from ships to aircraft, and from steel to plastics.

As members of The Empire Club we are pleased that Vickers operates in the Commonwealth tradition, and has companies in India, Pakistan, South Africa, Canada and in the United Kingdom. Over this rich coterie of corporations presides the Second Viscount Knollys. Lord Knollys is also among many other things a director of Barclays Bank, and the chairman of the Empoyers Liabiity Assurance Corporation Limited.

Lord Knollys was born in 1895 and was educated at Harrow and New College, Oxford. He received further training in the grim school of the First World War, serving in the 16th London Regiment and in the Royal Flying

Corps, for which service he was made a member of the Order of the British Empire and was awarded both the Croix de Guerre and the Distinguished Flying Cross. Lord Knollys still retains an affection for the men and women of the forces as he is the chairman of the Royal Air Force Benevolent Fund.

In the Second World War Lord Knollys was a civil defence official in the vital South Eastern Region of Britain and then for two years was the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Bermuda. He then devoted himself to civil aviation and from 1943 to 1947 he was the chairman of the British Overseas Airways Corporation. In the hectic years of the Korean War he returned again to government duty and was the United Kingdom Minister in Washington, exercising responsibility for precious raw materials.

Our speaker comes to The Empire Club of Canada, as a leader of commerce and industry in the Commonwealth and with a rare experience of service to his government and for a famous Crown Corporation. Gentlemen, I am privileged to introduce Lord Knollys who will speak to us now on the intriguing subject, 'Britain To-day and Tomorrow'.

VISCOUNT KNOLLYS: It is just 25 years ago that I began a very good habit in my life and that was of coming to Canada at least once a year and I have fortunately been able to keep it up ever since. Whatever jobs I have had to do, in business or Government, have happily made it essential for me to be in Canada. Now with my connection with Canadian engineering and shipbuilding I feel myself to be a Canadian industrialist as well as a British one. This long connection with Canada is one of the reasons why I appreciated so much the invitation to address your Club today—and I feel very honoured to be doing so.

You in Canada are, I think, aways anxious to know the latest up-to-date position of the British economy. To-day I am pleased to be able to give you a good account of the patient, who has so often been written off as failing, or unlikely to survive another crisis. I have been over here more than once when we have been undergoing a serious crisis, whether in war or peace, in politics or in business, but fortunately the drastic measures which we have never been afraid to apply in such cases have once again done their job.

Now our economy is sound again, thanks largely to the painful but effective medicine which Dr. Macmillan and his colleagues applied over a year ago. Some were old fashioned, like purges, but none the worse for that, as indeed we find when remedies we knew in our nurseries prove as useful as the modern antibiotics and sulpha drugs. Our bank rate was jumped unprecedently from 5% to 7%; bank credit drastically curtailed and controlled by the joint stock banks themselves under the general direction of the Treasury and Bank of England; hire purchase was tightened up; new issues of capital had to pass through a tight sieve. Exchange control was not relaxed, though our Treasury viewed sympathetically investment in certain places, notably in Canada. Any inflationary trend was resisted, though wage claims could not be completely disregarded. The treatment worked. And now, in the fall of 1958, we find the patient responded to the remedies, and the doses have been gradually reduced. Bank rate has been decreased in steps to 4½%. Good borrowers can now get their loans at 5½% instead of 8%. The ban on certain bank lendings has been removed. Hire purchase has not only been made easier again, but the big banks have allied themselves with finance companies. Small personal loans from the banks have been made easier. At the recent Commonwealth Conference at Montreal relaxations in the control of dollar purchases in Canada were announced. Our gold and dollar reserves rise steadily. The pound is strong.

There are, of course, some weak points still. Serious illnesses are apt to leave some chronic sores. One of ours is a certain amount of inflationary trend. Wage claims have been granted to many millions of workers. The pattern this year has been generally about a 4% increase, less than in some recent years, but still not fully matched by increased productivity. Though industrial profits in the first half of 1958 were in most cases as good or better than in the previous years, current profits, particularly in heavy industry are lower and order books are lighter. Unemployment is rather higher and may increase during the winter, though at present it is only 2.2%. Stock markets have been rising sharply and seem to foresee some early increased business prosperity which is not apparent at the moment to most industrialists.

But the mass of people generally are better off than they ever have been, and that typically has helped to improve the popularity of the Government in office, who have to face an election soon, probably in the Spring or Autumn of next year. Generally, it is a picture of considerable prosperity and of sound consolidation of our gains which I can present to you to-day. Only this week some rather astonishing figures of our overseas trade for the first 6 months of this year have been announced. For the first time in this century we have had a surplus in our visible trade balances. When the important invisible items, shipping, banking, insurance and tourists, are included, the balance in our favour was £334 million, and for the 12 months to June 1958, £448 million, a record figure. As our overseas trade balance is always the most vital for our state of health, these figures reflect a normal temperature, a sound pulse and a satisfactory increase in weight.

Now I should like to deal with a subject which affects both of our countries.

One of the outstanding factors in the economic and political world to-day is the growth of Canadian influence, and the certainty that this will continue in the future; and also that while that is happening the ancient bonds between Canada and Britain remain as close and as strong as ever. To ensure they remain so, constant and up-to-date knowledge of each other, of what each is doing and thinking, and why, is essential. In each country there are an ever-increasing number of people who have or are acquiring this knowledge, but there are still too many whose knowledge is either sketchy or out of date. This was one of the reasons why the visit of the Canadian Trade Mission to Britain last year was so valuable, as I know you have heard already from a great citizen of Toronto, my friend James Duncan, who did so much towards making the mission the success it was. It appeared, I believe, that quite a number of people were surprised at how up-to-date, alert and efficient modern British industry is. It was believed in some quarters that we have been backward in new ideas and unwilling to modernize our industrial plant and equipment, in other words, complacent and even in a decline. I am sure most of you realize that is far from being the case, but that it is a picture which does exist in the minds of some people is partly due to our inherent unwillingness to blow our own trumpet. This, if overdone, causes misunderstanding. In the words of our Prime Minister the other day, a little tooting is a good thing. I propose to give you a gentle toot to-day. If I appear at all boastful, you must excuse it as an effort to avoid misunderstanding.

First let me speak of Britain to-day and particularly industrial, technical and scientific Britain, for it is on these factors that so much of the strength and influence of any country must depend nowadays. Here I think we can claim that we have led, rather than followed, as we hope and intend we shall always do. Let me quote some outstanding examples where the origin of some technical or scientific advance has sometimes been forgotten once it has been adopted generally throughout the world. They are varied: radar, penicillin, jet engines, fibres such as Terylene, the discovery of the atomic nucleus, leading to the inauguration of the first operating atomic power station—Calder Hall. Here are British inventions or developments which have entered into and benefited the daily lives of all of us, in the fields of medicine, transportation, clothing, power, entertainment and information.

In aviation we have a very topical illustration. You have experience of our turbo-prop aircraft which Trans-Canada Air Lines pioneered on this continent. Now B.O.A.C. has led in operating Comet 4 pure jet aircraft across the Atlantic. I hope in three days time to fly in one from New York, 6½ hours non-stop, to London. I have rather a personal interest in them, for it was during the time when I was Chairman of B.O.A.C. that the original Comets were ordered. This form of airliner development is not such an innovation as is sometimes suggested, for these British pure jet aircraft were operating on Commonwealth routes as long ago as 1952, and some types of them have been operating practically ever since with R.A.F. Transport Command.

How is British industry working to take advantage of this progress, to remain in the van, to take the initiative in the even more exciting developments which lie ahead? First of all, contrary to what many people believe, we are working quite hard. The average weekly hours worked in manufacturing industry last April were: in Canada 40.4, in the U.S.A. 38.3 and the U.K. 45.5. That shows, at any rate, that we are trying. I will give you now some statements as to the position of British industry in other directions. Since 1948 there has been a high rate of investment in industry and a great improvement in technical methods and the efficiency of management. Industrial production increased in volume between 1946 and 1955 by 60%. Steel prices are lower than in any steel producing country except Australia. British farming is more highly mechanized than that of any nation in the world. In turbo jet engines one half of the world's outstanding orders had recently been placed with one firm, Rolls-Royce. One paper mill possesses the world's largest paper machine. The Admiralty, the British Shipbuilders Research Association and the Atomic Energy Authority and shipbuilding firms are working on nuclear reactors for marine propulsion; (and as you may know, my own Company is currently building our first atomic submarine.) In almost every industry you can find outstanding examples of advanced research.

Now before you begin thinking: "Here is a prejudiced reporter, picking out a lot of good sales points", let me tell you that all these statements have been taken almost verbatim from the official report of the Canadian Trade Mission to Britain at the end of last year. But let me also say that the criticisms and recommendations of that same Mission regarding our shortcomings in marketing in Canada have been carefully noted and taken much to heart.

That is Britain to-day. What about Britain tomorrow? How are we equipping ourselves to be amongst the leaders in the scientific and technological advances and developments on which depends our capacity to compete industrially and to be strong in defence? A few months ago Sir Winston Churchill, that far-seeing prophet of our country's destiny, wrote this:

"The future of Britain depends on the skill and craftsmanship with which we can meet the challenge of the new industrial age. . . . We are still a great trading nation and still a great power, but it is only by leading mankind in the discovery of new worlds of science and engineering that we shall hold our position and continue to earn our livelihood. . . .

Technological progress is also of vast significance to our Commonwealth and Empire and to the United States. It is a theme on which the English speaking peoples can and must work in concert."

Leaders in Government and Industry have realized the vital truth of this theme, and have spoken and acted on it. In technological education we ourselves have lagged behind, not only your continent, but also the tremendous output of technicians which Russia has achieved. We mean to make up for lost time, and are doing so. Government is playing its part in support and encouragement. Industry is spending very large sums in scholarships, contributions to new buildings, company training schools, education of apprentices research facilities. The Universities and schools are increasing the proportion of science students compared with those in the Arts and Humanities without, let us hope, losing the qualities which a fully rounded education gives to future industrial leaders.

I should like to give you one rather striking up-to-the-minute example of what one university is doing and that is perhaps because I happen to be personally connected with this project. Cambridge University has always encouraged scientific and technical education and has an outstanding School of Engineering. It is now founding a completely new college of 500 resident students, in which there will be a strong bias towards science and technology, for never less than 70% of the membership will be studying these subjects. With great imagination they are naming it "Churchill College" and it will serve as a memorial to the man who has shown such vision in his appreciation of the importance of technology to his country and to the world. Sir Winston is the Chairman of the Trustees of this new college—and a very active and interested one too, as I have been enabled to realize at first hand. The target set for the funds needed to build and endow this fine concept was £3½ million, say $10 million. Sir Winston entrusted me last April with the task of appealing to British industry, commerce and finance, though not to the public at large. As an illustration of what our industry is prepared to do, I can tell you that at this moment over $8 million has already been received and promised, and some more is in sight. This is not an isolated case. Oxford University is also founding a new college of this type, financed largely by industry. A few years ago industrial companies provided over £3 million (nearly $9 million) to improve the scientific facilities and equipment in independent and grant-aided schools. I think you will agree that there is no complacency nor falling behind in this important field.

I have tried to give you a picture of what we have been doing, and are continuing to do, to keep ourselves in the forefront of the New World we live in, in inventiveness and initiative, and in providing the background and education which is needed if we are to do so. I hope you do not feel that I have been bragging unduly, but that you too feel that these things should be brought out publicly in order that everyone may be well informed, and to avoid misconceptions.

You in Canada are doing these very things already. What a magnificent example there is in the recent munificent gift to one of your universities. You have great natural resources, progressive industries, fine educational facilities, if I may say so, a magnificent people.

Canada and Britain—what a tremendous combination it is, as we continue to work and think together in the fields of moral influence as well as of material achievement. In both, we contribute much for the benefit of the whole world.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Lt. Col. W. H. Montague, Past President of the Club.

"CHALLENGE OF THE WEST INDIES"

An Address by

SIR GRANTLEY ADAMS, C.M.G., C.B.E., Q.C, D.C.L.
Prime Minister of the West Indies

Thursday, October 23, 1958

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. Bruce Legge.

LT.-COL. LEGGE: We are happy to welcome as our guests of honour at The Empire Club of Canada, Lady Adams and Sir Grantley Adams, the Prime Minister of the West Indies. Although he is now the first Prime Minister of the new Commonwealth Federation, Sir Grantley had a long and successful political career in the Barbados where he rose to be Premier before Federation. Since 1934 he has sat for St. Joseph's Parish and has earned the enjoyable lament of his opponents that 'Nobody has ever been able get him out'.

As the son of a schoolmaster, Grantley Adams excelled as a student of classics and as a cricketer at Harrison College where he won the Barbados Scholarship to St. Catherines, Oxford, and there became the Captain of the college cricket team. After leaving Oxford he entered Gray's Inn, London, and was called to the Bar in 1923.

On returning to the Barbados he supplemented a young barrister's income as a journalist for several papers. He won his first spectacular success at the bar when he obtained an acquittal for a man charged with murdering his common law wife and from then on he achieved a series of triumphs as a criminal lawyer.

In politics Sir Grantley has been a courageous reformer with a passion for improving the welfare of his people. In his early political days it was rare for a brilliant lawyer to work with union leaders at the expense of a lucrative law practice. From the beginning he battled with opponents who had the audacity to refer to politics as a game because Grantley Adams regarded politics as a serious business on which depended the very lives of his people.

Our speaker began his career as a reforming Liberal but one of his creeds has always been 'I do not believe in breaking down something unless I have something better to put in its place'. During the war Sir Grantley was converted to Socialism in the hope that it could bring material and social benefits to the Islands. When he first entered the House of Assembly in 1934, he felt that it was oppressed by a spirit of feudalism but with the reforms leading to a ministerial system, and adult suffrage, power passed to the people and to their leader, Grantley Adams.

Internationally his fame has spread. He represented Britain at the United Nations in Paris in 1948 where he startled the Communist satellites by saying, 'Give me the British way of life!' He detests dictatorships and has taken an active part in the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and has served on the British Section of the Caribbean Commission.

Our speaker's service to the law, the Commonwealth, the West Indies and his people, has not gone unrecognized. He has been knighted by the Queen, created a Queen's Counsel and given a Doctorate of Civil Laws by Mount Alleson University. Above all, he has been acclaimed by his people who elected him the first Premier of the Barbados and then the first Prime Minister of the West Indies. Ladies and gentemen we are privileged to hear a great Commonwealth statesman, Sir Grantley Herbert Adams, who will describe to The Empire Club of Canada "The Challenge of the West Indies".

SIR GRANTLEY ADAMS: When Mr. John L. Bonus wrote to me a short time ago inviting me to address the Empire Club of Canada he not only did me a great honour, but he almost frightened me into declining it, since he started his invitation by referring to the fact that your

Club is composed of 2,500 of Toronto's leading business and professional men. How is a mere politician to do justice to such an exalted audience? However, I feel sufficiently at home in Canada to face the business leaders of Toronto if not with equanimity, at any rate with the knowledge that I am speaking to members of a community which has historical and trading links with The West Indies that mean a very great deal to even the most humble members of our new Caribbean nation.

You have asked me to speak on the challenge presented by the new Federation of The West Indies, and I propose first of all to say a few words about some of the human and political features of The West Indies before turning to the economic aspect.

The Federation of The West Indies consists of ten major islands, nine of which lie in a 500-mile arc stretching from the north-east tip of the South American continent to the United States Virgin Islands, east of Puerto Rico. The tenth island, Jamaica, lies far to the west, being due south of Cuba, the distance, as the crow flies, from Trinidad to Jamaica being over 1,000 miles. These major islands, which constitute the individual units of the Federation of The West Indies, vary a great deal in size. The total land area is only 8,000 square miles, of which Jamaica has 4,700 and Trinidad 2,000. Montserrat, which ranks as a separate unit, is thirty-two square miles in area. Nor are all these islands adjacent to one another. The French island of Martinique lies between St. Lucia and Dominica, which is in turn separated from Antigua by the French island of Gaudeloupe. Even the smaller islands which are administered from the larger ones are inextricably mixed up. For instance, Anguilla, which is part of the Colony of St. Kitts, Nevis and Anguilla, is separated from St. Kitts by the Dutch islands of St. Eustatius and Saba, the French Island of St. Barthelemy and the strange phenomenon of St. Martin (only a few square miles in area), which is half Dutch and half French.

Nor have the individual islands of The West Indies Federation identical histories, except in so far as they were all prizes in the struggles between European countries eager to exploit the profits of sugar and slavery. Some colonies, like Barbados and St. Kitts, were settled by Englishmen in the early seventeenth century, and have remained very English to this day. Others, like St. Lucia, were conquered by the English from the French or the Spanish—and sometimes changed hands a number of times in the process. The result has been a lack of homogeneity in culture and political institutions which even today presents a major challenge to the new institution of Federation. Disparity in size and strength of the constituent parts of a Federation is not a new phenomenon. It faced Canada nearly a hundred years ago, and even today it still presents problems to you as well as to Australia. The disproportion is far more acute in The West Indies than it has been elsewhere.

Barbados, like Bermuda and the Bahamas, has had representative government for more than three hundred years composed of a Governor, an upper house and a lower house to compare with the King or Queen, the House of Lords and the House of Commons. Jamaica, which today has achieved a position of practical internal self-government, reverted to Crown Colony rule in 1865. Trinidad, which only passed from the Spanish to the British at the beginning of the last century, has only recently seen the emergence of political parties. St. Lucia has inherited a number of patterns from its French past, including the use of the Code Napoleon, which involves the quotation of Quebec law reports in the St. Lucian Courts. British Guiana, which is not yet in the Federation but which we all hope will one day join, still uses Roman-Dutch law.

It would therefore be hard to find any series of territories which *a priori* would seem less likely to come together in a Federation. Nevertheless, they have joined to form a new nation, and, despite the differing backgrounds and the geographical handicaps to which I have referred, I am convinced that historically there was no other course open to them.

In the first place, since the Napoleonic Wars these islands have all been British Colonies, with the British Government and the Colonial Office serving to maintain common patterns of administration and holding out the ultimate aim of self-government within the British Commonwealth. In The West Indies we all have the same respect for British traditions of parliamentary democracy and the supremacy of the courts of justice. When we say that we wish to break away from colonialism and secure the right to order our own affairs as we choose, we are all thinking about the same thing—the creation of a free society based on respect for one another. There is no danger of independence bringing with it the emergence of violent inner conflicts which, in some other parts of the world, have come to the surface with the removal of imperial government. In the second place, and I propose to revert to this aspect of the matter later, we are linked together by a common faith in our ability to create a nation in which race and colour cease to have significance. We are well on the way to being a truly multi-racial community, a people with diversity of racial background but with identity of outlook and purpose.

This Federation upon which we have just entered is therefore not something which has been thought up suddenly. Indeed, some of the friends of The West Indies criticise us for having taken so long to make up our minds about it. But, as you in Canada would be the first to recognize, Federation is just not a question of writing a constitution and agreeing to it, although that in itself is difficult enough. There must be the urge to operate the institutions for the overall common benefit and not for parochial or partisan ends—what Professor MacIver has called "the will *for* the state". For this reason I think we have been right to begin with a Federal Constitution which preserves a great amount of power to the Unit Governments. It must be recognized that we have started off in much the same way as the United States, with the intention of keeping the central government weak until it has proved itself. Our Constitution contains a very modest list of matters on which the Federal Parliament has exclusive authority to legislate; a longer, but still modest, list of concurrent matters on which both the Federal and Unit Governments can legislate. Residual powers lie with the indiviual Territories. We can therefore be said to have followed the Australian model rather than the Canadian.

As a matter of interest, the list of exclusive powers, allowing for modern terminology and technical developments, bears a marked resemblance to those which the Articles of Confederation conferred upon the Confederation Congress between the years 1781 and 1789. The Confederation Congress could carry on war,make treaties, coin money, issue bills of credit and settle disputes between the states. The Parliament of The West Indies is exclusively competent to legislate for defence, for the implementation of international obligations, for exchange control and for legal proceedings between the Federation and a Territory or between Territories. It has, of course, other powers, notably in regard to currency, immigration, postal services and telecommunications and industrial development. These are on the concurrent legislative list, but in the event of conflict between Federal and Territorial law, the Federal law will prevail. But it is significant that agriculture in all its branches, which is the basis of the economy of the Federation and the livelihood of the vast majority of its inhabitants, is not mentioned in the Constitution. The role of the Federal Government in this field must therefore at present be confined to providing advisory and research services and fostering trade negotiations with countries outside the region.

It may perhaps be asked at this stage whether those who framed the West Indian constitution really expected it to last. The answer is that they did not. They had no intention of making more than an interim constitution, and they specifically included a provision to the effect that the Constitution must be reviewed not later than five years after it came into force. This is an eminently sensible provision, since it combines a recognition of the initial difficulties with an expression of determination to overcome them. Of these initial difficulties, the question of the free movement of goods and persons constitutes the greatest challenge. We now have to merge ten separate customs tariffs and ten separate sets of immigration and labour legislation into a unified whole that will apply throughout The West Indies. It is only natural that there should be some reluctance on the part of specially affected interests to give up local freedom of action in these matters. For instance, a member Island with a high protective customs tariff may legitimately fear the effects of a lower unified tariff on its local industries. An area of comparative prosperity may fear a sudden influx of labour from outside, threatening existing wage standards and creating serious housing and other social problems. However, we are pledged to press forward with the creation of a full customs union and full freedom of movement within the federation. Difficult as the task may be, I myself am confident that we shall deal with these matters successfully.

Turning now to questions of trade and economics, and, in particular, our links in this sphere with your Dominion, I need not remind you that every schoolboy in The West Indies knows about the traditiona trade in fish from Canada and sugar and molasses from The West Indies. This trade has existed for centuries, and has brought with it transport links which are vital to the economy of our scattered islands. Every West Indian cane farmer also knows the help which Canada has long given to our sugar industry. It is sixty years now since Canada unilaterally instituted tariff preferences for The West Indies and forty-five years since these were embodied in the first Canada-West Indies Trade Agreement in 1912. Currently one-quarter to one-third of British West Indian sugar exports are sent to Canada.

Nor are Canada's interests in modern times limited to the exchange of saltfish for sugar products. The West Indies constitute an important market for Canadian flour, dairy products and manufactures, a market which we all hope will expand rapidly as dollar trade is liberalised. The region also provides an area of activity for Canadian banks and insurance companies. Canadian capital is playing an increasingly important role in developing the internal resources of The West Indies, particularly in regard to public utilities, the development of tourist resorts and, above all, the exploitation of the very large bauxite deposits in Jamaica, where the Aluminum Company of Canada has a $100,000,000 investment.

These developments are of the utmost importance to

The West Indies, since ours is essentially a weak economy. Our economic basis is extremely narrow, and, like nearly all primary-producing countries, we find ourselves dependent upon overseas demand to an excessive degree. It is true that the West Indies is no longer a one-crop economy; sugar has been supplemented by bananas, coconuts, coffee, cocoa, nutmegs, arrowroot, vanilla, limes and sea island cotton on the agricultural side. We have oil and asphalt in Trinidad and bauxite in Jamaica. But we are still very weak in regard to internal production and trade, since the diversification I have mentioned all involves the export of West Indian goods to people outside the area.

As I have explained, the Federation of The West Indies consists of ten scattered islands, and less than 4% of the exports from these islands goes to other units of the Federation—over 96% goes to the outside world. I mention this not to suggest that there should be any slackening in our efforts to expand exports. The West Indies is poor in terms of certain materials and resources, and gains the normal advantages from international exchange. Indeed, it is only the possibility of such exchange that provides the very modest standard of living actually enjoyed. But it is essential that efforts should be made to develop the internal economy so that The West Indies can supply itself with more of its own needs. This can be done over a period in a number of sectors of the economy. For example, by the provision from indigenous sources of more of the food consumed, and by the growth of manufacturing industry to meet more of the West Indian internal demands. Such a policy is in no way inconsistent with our desires to encourage trade with Canada, since only an expanding economy can provide the market for which your exporters are seeking.

Another important weakness in The West Indies is that productivity is low, in particular in certain agricultural spheres. For a variety of reasons, there has in the past been a lack of entrepreneurial spirit and of technical know-how. Over the whole area of the Federation there is a considerable amount of unemployment and underemployment. Finally, the already dense population is increasing at nearly 2½% per annum, far more rapidly than are new employment opportunities. This rapid population increase is undoubtedly our most serious problem. Considerable alleviation has been provided in the past by emigration, and especially in recent times to the United Kingdom. In Jamaica, particularly, the movement outwards has provided very considerable relief in recent years, and made for greater improvements in the standard of living and those remaining. There is no easy answer to this population problem, but from the purely economic aspect the outstanding necessity is to push ahead as fast as possible with the provision of new employment opportunities within the Federation. There are certain offsetting factors to the weaknesses which I have described. Although the economic basis is narrow, it has been widening considerably in recent years, particularly in Trinidad and Jamaica. Apart from bauxite in Jamaica, there are at present no signs of over-production, and by and large The West Indies is selling all it can produce, and could probably sell a good deal more of some commodities if supply could be increased.

Again, there are strong indications of an upsurge in the entrepreneurial spirit in some territories, which, together with the spread of education and the existing plans for its growth (especially in the technical field) and the increase in technical knowhow which has already taken place, bodes well for the future. The efforts being made by Governments in the field of economic planning, both on the Federal level and in Jamaica, Trinidad and Barbados, are promising. These efforts are directed at creating the right social and economic climate and conditions for further investment and developmental activity in the private sector including far-reaching tax incentives and direct assistance to manufacturers in the form of leased factories, import duty concessions in respect of raw materials and machinery, and so on.

Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the development that has occurred is patchy. In Jamaica, Trinidad and Barbados investment represents a relatively high ratio of national income, but this is far from being the case with the poorer islands of the Windwards and Lee-wards groups. Six of these are actually unable to balance their normal budgets without regular grants from the British Treasury. Perhaps the greatest challenge to the new Federal Government on the economic plane is the problem of welding together such unequal economies into a whole that will be stronger than its component parts. At a different level, you have had this sort of problem in Canada, and it exists in Australia. But both you and the Australians have one single land mass to contend with, whereas we have ten island groups, with, as I have said, 1,000 miles of water separating the capital in Trinidad from Jamaica in the west. You can well imagine what this implies in terms of the mobility of capital, labour and goods.

Against this background, nothing could have inspired the people of The West Indies more than the offer of the Government of Canada to provide as a free gift two ships for our inter-island shipping service. This is not only help of a remarkably generous kind, it is help where it is most needed, and tangible evidence that your Government understands the basic problems of The West Indies and is concerned specifically to help us in a manner which will enable us to help ourselves. As you know, I have recently had the privilege of conveying personally to your Prime Minister the thanks of the Government and people of The West Indies for the encouragement which Canada has given to the new Federation of The West Indies by setting up the $10,000,000 Canada-West Indies Aid Programme. I should like to repeat here how deeply we appreciate not only the aid itself but the faith in the future of the West Indies which it represents. I should also like to emphasize again the essentially practical nature of this Aid Programme. In the Agreement between the two Governments it is stated:

> "Goods and services supplied by the Government of Canada to the Government of The West Indies will be designed to strengthen and support the Federation.
>
> "To that end priority will be given to projects which make the most effective contribution to the Federation as a whole.

> "Priority will be given, insofar as practicable, to projects and programmes which can be expected to benefit the Federation within a reasonably short period."

This emphasis on early and tangible results is a businessman's approach, and some of you may perhaps be surprised to find it set out clearly in a Government document. As one who has had considerable experience of the circumlocution of Governments, I can only say that one would wish that they were all as down to earth as we have found the Canadian Government.

Whilst on the subject of official documents, I might mention that we in The West Indies attach very great importance to something that appears in the middle of the Report of the recent Commonwealth Economic Conference at Montreal. This is the statement that:

> "The Canadian Delegation had discussions with the United Kingdom and West Indian representatives with a view to exploring the possibilities of closer and freer trading relationships between Canada and The West Indies. As a result, it has been agreed that joint consideration should be given to all measures designed to improve and strengthen existing trade ties and to ensure the closest possible trading relationships between The West Indies and Canada."

"Exploring possibilities" and "Giving joint consideration" may not be phrases that ring with conviction. But I want to assure you, as I assured Mr. Diefenbaker, that my Government has no intention of dragging its feet in this matter. The problems on both sides are complex. It must not be forgotten that we in The West Indies still have to achieve a customs union of the various Territories, which is a prerequisite for any far-reaching inter-governmental arrangements for closer and freer trading relationships between our two countries. But we are anxious to attack these problems without delay, and, here again, I think we shall find that the basically practical approach we have come to associate with our dealings with the Canadian Government will operate to prevent our becoming lost in a maze of pious generalizations. And if we are in danger of being so lost, I have little doubt that the Canadian Chamber of Commerce Delegation, to whose visit early next year we look forward, will firmly put us back on the right lines.

So far I have been speaking in terms of politics, constitutions, trade and economics. However, I am far from unmindful of the fact that your Club is closely concerned with Commonwealth affairs. Indeed, I understood that its official purpose is to advance the interests of Canada within the strong ties of the British Commonwealth. It is therefore only right that before I close I should say something about the Commonwealth link that binds our two countries together. Unlike the former American Colonies which, as the United States of America, achieved independence in defiance of Britain, British West Indians have united, and are on the threshold of self-government, under British guidance and with Britain's blessing. The West Indies, like Canada, have for generations followed the British way of life, and the Commonwealth tie is as strong with us as it is with you. We have the same respect as you for British traditions of parliamentary democracy and the supremacy of the Courts of Justice. Thus the constitutional advance which is now taking place in The West Indies will serve to strengthen our attachment to the Commonwealth. An association which is now taken for granted because of our colonial status will become a conscious, and therefore more valuable, act of deliberate choice.

It is on this, I might almost say spiritual, plane that we think that The West Indies can make a positive and unique contribution to the Commonwealth ideal. As you know, we constitute one of the most remarkable multi-racial communities in the world, and it is no accident that we have chosen as a motto for our new Federation a phrase that epitomises the Commonwealth ideal—"To dwell together in unity". Our people have their origins in Africa, in Europe, in India, and in China, to an extent that today a West Indian cannot say "I am a European or an African"; he can only say "I am a West Indian". The very existence of The West Indies is a refutation of the myth of racial superiority, and we pride ourselves that we can bring to the Commonwealth community a successful demonstration that race and colour are matters of no significance in the context of human dignity and endeavour.

In this field also, the field of human material, as well as in that of trade and economics, we in The West Indies owe a very great deal to Canada. It is over eighty years since the first West Indian student enrolled at McGill University. Since that time a large number of West Indians have passed through Canadian Universities, providing some of the outstanding talent which has helped to build our new nation. Yesterday I talked with the younger generation which is now studying at McGill, and here in Toronto I shall be meeting West Indian students at Trinity College who number over 200. In all, there are nearly 1,000 of our boys and girls enrolled in your universities. It can be said with justice that the direct economic help which Canada is giving to The West Indies is more than matched by the human investment undertaken by Canada's institutes of learning. We therefore place especial value on the Canada Council fellowships which have been offered to us, and welcome the recent announcement by the United Kingdom and Canadian Governments of a new educational scheme of annual awards of scholarships and fellowships in the Commonwealth. In our own small way, we are trying to reciprocate by offering two fellowships to Canadians at our own University College of The West Indies in Jamaica, and I hope that before long it will prove possible to enlarge the scope of this scheme so as to provide a genuine two-way educational traffic.

Before I close, may I introduce one personal note? I myself am no stranger to Canada, and my experiences here during the past week have only served to confirm by previous knowledge of your friendliness and the fund of goodwill which you bear towards The West Indies. West Indians also are friendly and hospitable people, and although some of you will doubtless at some time or other have visited our part of the world, there must be many of you to whom we are no more than a number of small dots on the map—with their names written in microscopic print. I would hope therefore that the increasing closeness of relations between our two Governments will be matched by even closer relations between our two peoples; and that those of you who do not as yet know The West Indies in person will rectify the position at the first opportunity. As a good Barbadian, it is difficult for me not to urge you to visit Little England to the exclusion of the rest of the Federation. Unfortunately we decided not to put the Federal Capital in Barbados. It is therefore in Port-of-Spain that I shall hope to see members of the Empire Club, and be able to return their hospitality.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. John Bonus.

"THE CYPRUS QUESTION"

An Address by

SIR JOHN BEWLEY GREAVES, C.M.G., O.B.E.
Former United Kingdom Senior Trade Commissioner

Thursday, October 30, 1958

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. Bruce Legge.

LT.-COL. LEGGE: Distinguished guests and members of The Empire Club of Canada. Today our speaker is Sir John Bewley Greaves who will share with us his views on Cyprus. Like Sir John, William Shakespeare was interested in Cyprus because it provided the dramatic and exciting history for 'Othello'. That Moorish general was employed by the Duke and Senators of Venice to frustrate the Turkish designs against the Island of Cyprus.

Even during the Crusades, Cyprus was conquered by the dashing English Sovereign, Richard the Lion-hearted, on his way to free Jerusalem from Saladin. For many centuries Cyprus has therefore been the familiar setting for religious conflicts and the rivalries of great powers. Following the Congress of Berlin in 1878 Great Britain assumed possession of Cyprus by signing a separate agreement with Turkey, and Britain has maintained control of the Island ever since.

The Cyprus problem is now such an angry one that the Greeks, the Turks and the British have been unable to devise any way of living in peace. As a result British soldiers have had the thankless and dangerous duty of dealing with terrorists and communal tragedies. Such has been the internal warfare of this Mediterranean island that the very harmony of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization has been threatened.

The members of The Empire Club of Canada are delighted to have the Cyprus question discussed by Sir John Greaves who served in the overseas trade service of the British Government for thirty-five years. Sir John entered that service immediately after five years as an infantry soldier in the First World War.

Our speaker has held several important posts in Canada and therefore knows his audience. He was also the Commercial Counsellor at the British Embassy in Washington, in the unpredictable post-war years from 1945 to 1947. Finally, he was the Senior United Kingdom Trade Commissioner and Economic Adviser to the High Commissioner in Australia from 1948 to 1954. For his fine service to his Government he was created a Knight Commander of St. Michael and St. George.

Sir John Greaves was admirably trained by his vast experience as an overseas official to give us a reasoned British view of one of the most turbulent political situations in the Commonwealth today. Above all, he is able to speak to us as an expert who is not personally involved in the problem, but as one who has studied Cyprus with fascination ever since he first became familiar with it many years ago. Gentlemen, we are now honoured to hear an address by Sir John Greaves on the tortured and bewildering 'Cyprus Question'.

SIR JOHN GREAVES: Cyprus, the scene of one of Britain's most difficult and distressing international problems, is an island in the north-east corner of the Mediterranean, with an area of about 3,600 square miles, which makes it just about one hundredth part the size of Ontario. It is one of the rather numerous countries which boast of having an ideal climate, and I should say that in the case of Cyprus the boast is more justified than in some other instances I could mention. Certainly winter, spring and fall are delightful; the summer admittedly is hot and oppressive in the centre of the island and those who can manage it are wise to get away to the coast or to the mountains of Troodos. The present population of Cyprus is approximately half a million, of whom about four-fifths are Greek and one-fifth Turkish. For historical and ecclesiastical reasons the connexions of Cyprus with Greece have long been close, in spite of the fact that Cyprus is separated from the mainland of Greece by five or six hundred miles of sea. Between Cyprus and Turkey the distance is only 43 miles.

When W. H. Mallock visited Cyprus he came back and wrote a book which he called "In an Enchanted Island". That was in the eighties of the last century, but much of the enchantment which he found there lived on well into the present century. In the country districts, which formed the greater part and the most typical part of Cyprus, one saw, even in the 1920's, a civilisation which differed little in some of its aspects from that which must have existed there in Biblical times. Much of the agriculture was still primitive and to a large extent the peasants lived on the produce of their own farms. Oxen drew the plough, and the donkey, the mule and the camel were the typical beasts of burden. Goats roamed the countryside, doing such untold damage to the trees as almost to break the heart of the Forestry Department. The dress of the men had altered, I suppose, since Biblical times, for robes had given place to the baggy trousers commonly worn by the country people in Greece. Living standards were low by comparison with ours, yet simplicity rather than grinding poverty seemed to be the hallmark of the countryman's manner of life.

Of course, changes came as the 20th century advanced, but at first only slowly and gently. A few motor cars appeared in and around the towns. In the narrow streets of Nicosia you were intrigued by the sight of a car nosing its way gingerly through the throng of men and women on foot, on bicycles, on mules and on donkeys. Blouses and baggy trousers gave way to shirts and slacks, even to lounge suits and collars and ties. Hotels and cinemas appeared, and cafés, by acquiring a few musicians, a few square feet of dance floor, and possibly an exotic name, burst boastfully into that ultimate expression of Western sophistication—a night club. But you had to walk only a few hundred yards from the night club and you found yourself in another world, standing before the ancient edifice of Ayia Sophia, once a cathedral but now a Muslim mosque; and nearby the Great Inn or Khan where Turkish travellers stayed, their rooms surrounding a great courtyard in which were tethered the donkeys and camels on which they had come in from their villages and farms. For the visitor it was fascinating to watch antiquity and modernity co-existing side by side; fascinating but rather sad because one felt that, slowly yet relentlessly, antiquity was being elbowed out to make way for newer, but not always better, things.

The war, of course, gave a great fillip to the changes which had been taking place gradually and with little disturbance of the rhythm of Cyprus life. The economy, which was once almost entirely agricultural, is now mixed. People have been drawn increasingly into the towns. New industries have been started, and even agriculture has been largely mechanized, the tractors, combine harvesters and other equipment being generally owned by village cooperatives and made available by them to individual farmers. By means of irrigation schemes considerable progress has been made in overcoming the one great deficiency in Cyprus agriculture—water. The establishment of military and air headquarters in Cyprus and the construction of the necessary installations and air fields have provided employment for many thousands of Cypriots and have helped to establish a permanent wage-earning class. It is perhaps too much to say that the old Cyprus which enchanted Mallock has completely disappeared but it is certainly less obvious. One has to look for it and to go farther afield before one can find it.

In spite of its charm and air of enchantment, Cyprus has had a long and troubled history. Its geographical situation must have made it a tempting bait for all the surrounding nations which in turn rose to power in that corner of the world. If the Low Countries could be described as "the cockpit of Europe", Cyprus might with equal justice be called "the cockpit of the eastern Mediterranean". Centuries before the beginning of the Christian era, the Phoenicians, the Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Greeks and the Romans all in turn contended for possession of the island. In A.D. 46 Paul and Barnabas landed on the east coast, journeyed through Cyprus to Paphos, and there, by converting the Roman pro-consul to Christianity, made Cyprus the first country to be governed by a Christian ruler. Later Barnabas returned, to suffer martyrdom at his native town of Salamis, the imposing ruins of which may still be seen a few miles north of Famagusta. After the decline of the Roman Empire, Cyprus suffered frequent Arab invasions and for a short time became English territory when Richard Coeur de Lion put in there on his way to the third crusade, and there married his wife Berengaria. Subsequently the island passed successively into the ownership and occupation of the Knights Templars, the dynasty of the Lusignans, Kings of Jerusalem, and the Republic of Venice. It was in Cyprus under this last regime that Shakespeare laid the scene of his tragedy of Othello; and one may still see Othello's Tower at Famagusta, where Desdemona is supposed to have been murdered and Othello to have killed himself.

But Venice neglected her charge, and Cyprus fell an easy prey to the Turkish Sultan Selim II, who was also known, presumably with good reason, as Selim the Sot. They invaded the island in 1570, quickly took Nicosia, and, after a heroic four months resistance by the defenders, captured Famagusta. Thus began a period of Turkish rule which lasted for over 300 years.

The Grand Vizier, whom the Sultan appointed to govern Cyprus, found it convenient to recognize the Greek Orthodox Church in Cyprus, and to give to the ethnarchy, the governing body of the Church, a certain measure of support and authority. Not of course out of any love for the religion which it preached, but because it was easier to deal with and control the Sultan's Greek-speaking Cypriot subjects through some established and widespread Greek Cypriot agency. A little later the administration of Cyprus was transferred from the Grand Vizier to the Capitan Pasha, whose headquarters was at Rhodes with the curious result that effective authority in Cyprus passed almost completely into the hands of the

Greek Orthodox Archbiship and his ecclesiastical colleagues. Even so, Ottoman domination was probably a pretty oppressive affair and it is scarcely surprising that there were occasional surgings of revolt, which, under the influence of the Church, took the form of a demand for Enosis, or union with Greece. This sort of thing was naturally not to the Turkish taste. It was up to the Church to keep the peasants in order, to see that they produced the requisite tribute and gave no trouble; and if the prelates failed in the duties imposed on them, they could not expect any tolerance of their shortcomings. In 1821, fearing that the Cypriots were in league with the people of Greece, who were then in revolt against Turkish rule, the Turks arrested the Archbishop of Cyprus, the Bishops and 200 leading persons in the Orthodox community and executed them. According to Sir Ronald Storrs, the Turkish Capitan Pasha introduced a peculiarly Ottoman piece of brutality into this ceremony. He compelled the eccliastics to go on all fours, fixed saddles on their backs, broke their teeth by forcing metal bits into their mouths, and then prodded them with sharp spurs to their place of execution.

Repressive Turkish rule continued for the next fifty-odd years and such measures of mild reform as were initiated by the Sultan remained largely a dead letter. Most of the public revenue was safely retained in the Imperial Treasury—87 per cent of it in one year. Virtually nothing was done for the benefit of the subject Cypriots who found the money.

Eventually it was an external circumstance—the growing pressure of Russia on Turkish possessions in the Balkans and Asia Minor—which brought an end to Turkish rule in Cyprus. The Turks suffered a severe defeat and had to sue for peace. To safeguard themselves from future attack they sought help from Britain. At the Congress of Berlin in 1878 Disraeli concluded with the Sultan a Convention of Defensive Alliance. This bound Britain to give armed aid to Turkey if further attacks were made by Russia on her territories in Asia; and in order to enable us to make the necessary provision for executing our engagements, Turkey assigned "the island of Cyprus to be occupied and administered by England." It was after this Congress that Disraeli, in response to the cheers of the crowd outside, showed himself at a window of No. 10 Downing Street, and cried: "I bring you peace--Peace with Honour". (Incidentaly, Lloyd George, when he was called upon to make a similar appearance after the end of the 1914 war, showed a nice sense of history by enquiring "Which is the Disraeli window?")

It was a curious situation. Cyprus was still under Turkish sovereignty and remained part of the Ottoman dominions, but was in practice governed by Great Britain. The Convention provided, as part of the bargain, that Cyprus should continue to pay its annual tribute to Turkey. The amount of the tribute was to be based on the average excess of income over expenditure in the five years previous to 1878; and by calculating it, as Storrs says, "with the scrupulous exactitude characteristic of faked accounts", the Turkish authorities arrived at the substantial and precise sum of £92,799.11.3. In truth, however, there was little need for faking; for Turkey had always taken care to see that taxation was kept high and expenditure well down. In 1878 no money at all had been spent on roads, harbours, agriculture, forests or education, and there was not a single hospital in the whole island. Justice had been administered at a total cost of £250 a year. The judges, at 14/- a month each, must have been an easy target for bribes. Thus, by providing the minimum of service for the maximum of reward, and then cooking the accounts a bit, the Turkish administration had managed to keep the Sultan pretty well provided with funds from his Cypriot province. After 1878, however, the Sultan ceased to receive the tribute for which he thought he had so ingeniously provided. There was a default on the Ottoman loan (which Britain and France had guaranteed) and the money received from Cyprus was devoted to satisfying the demands of the bondholders. Britain, however, never received the full amount. It was repeatedly reduced or set off by grants in aid, and eventually in 1927 was totally abolished.

Among the early reforms which Britain instituted after taking over the administration of the island in 1878 was the grant of a constitution which provided for a legislative council containing a majority which provided for a legislative council containing a majority of elected members. In 1914, when we were at war with Turkey, Britain formally annexed the island and in 1925 Cyprus became a Crown colony. The council was enlarged and the title of the head of the government was changed to Governor. These changes, though accepted and even welcomed by the Cypriots, did not diminish the traditional demand of the Greek-speaking Cypriots for Enosis. As we have seen, this demand owed its inception and growth principally to the influence of the highly political Greek Orthodox Church. It had no economic basis. As far as I am aware, no one has ever claimed that, in wealth and living standards, Cyprus would be better off under Greece than under Britain. In fact any one with even the slightest knowledge of the facts of colonial life can scarcely avoid coming to precisely the opposite conclusion. Nevertheless pressure for Enosis continued to become more and more insistent and culminated in 1931 in serious disturbances in Nicosia, the capital, and the burning down of a Government House by an unruly mob. As a result the constitution was suspended, and the central government of the colony was thereafter exercised solely by the Governor and an executive council consisting entirely of officially nominated members.

During the 1939 war the strategic importance of Cyprus was strikingly demonstrated, for the island lay directly in the path of the German thrust to the south-east, which, as you will remember, reached Crete, some 300 miles west of Cyprus, in 1941. The island never became an actual battleground, though an attack on Cyprus would seem to have been a logical next step. Hitler may well have been deterred by the serious losses sustained by his air-borne forces in Crete, as well as by the measures taken to defend Cyprus in case of attack and by energetic action in Syria, Iran and elsewhere. The island, however, played its part as a naval and air base in operations in the eastern Mediterranean and in the supplying of partisans for the fighting in the Balkans and in Greece. A Cypriot regiment fought in Libya and there were Cypriot units in various other theatres, including France, where a pack mule company from Cyprus, which arrived on the scene in 1940, are said to have been the first Empire troops actually engaged in hostilities.

Though constitutional questions had to be left in abeyance during the war, the desirability of reintroducing democratic self-government was not lost sight of. The problem was, however, seriously complicated by two factors. There was first of all the existence in the island of a substantial Turkish minority—about one fifth of the whole population—who were by no means easy at the prospect of living under an overwhelmingly Greek-elected government. Secondly, there was the necessity for Britain to safeguard British bases and installations in the island—bases which are regarded as essential to enable the United Kingdom not only to protect her own interests in the Near and Middle East, but also to carry out her international obligations in those areas. Though it is Britain's wish that Cyprus should enjoy the fullest practicable degree of self-government, these two considerations were, in the United Kingdom view, inconsistent with the immediate grant of complete self-determination, for that might well be followed by union with Greece and our inevitable withdrawal from the island.

In spite of these obstacles and complications, detailed proposals for a liberal constitution were put forward by Britain in 1948. They provided for a legislature of 26 members, all but a few of whom would be popularly elected. When the scheme was submitted to a consultative assembly in Cyprus, it was accepted by the Turkish and by the independent Greek members; the right-wing Greek Cypriots had, however, decided to boycott the assembly and the left-wing Greeks, though they attended, stayed only long enough to register their rejection of the proposals before they walked out. In such circumstances the assembly could clearly do nothing and it was dissolved. The offer remained open for acceptance or discussion but the Greeks continued to take the line that acquiescence in constitutional development without complete self-determination would be a betrayal of Enosis.

The next significant occurrence took place in 1951, when Archbishop Makarios, as part of the Church's plans for strengthening Enosis agitation, invited George Grivas, a retired colonel living in Athens, to come to Cyprus in order to organise a youth movement under the auspices of the Orthodox Church. Grivas, a Cypriot by birth, was a disgruntled ex-regular Greek Army officer. He is a right-wing extremist, and during the war he had no truck with the partisans, mostly left-wing, who were fighting the Germans and whom we, of course, supported with funds and arms. Instead Grivas remained in Athens, where he was a leader of a notorious "KHI" organisation, a Fascist strong-arm secret society which clashed with Communists during the Greek civil war. His character may be deduced from his achievements since he arrived in Cyprus. He is personally courageous and a brilliant soldier and guerilla commander; entirely devoted to the cause of Enosis; vain to the point of paranoia; a bitter hater both of the British and of Communism; cruel and completely ruthless, with an utter disregard of human life.

It was not surprising that, under the leadership of such a man, the Pancyprian National Youth Organisation (commonly known as PEON) which he had been invited to set up early became imbued with hatred of the government and all that it stood for, and proved a ready tool of subversive political agitation. It and another somewhat similar organisation (the Orthodox Christian Union of Youth or OHEN) furnished the nucleus for the frankly terrorist EOKA (or National Association of Cypriot Combattants) created and led by Colonel Grivas.

The story of the operations of this organisation is a grim one, and it would be tedious, as well as harrowing, to attempt to tell it in any detail. The battle may be said to have begun in January, 1955, when a Greek caique was captured while unloading explosives on the coast of Cyprus. The resultant legal proceedings were accompanied by riotious disorders, and on April 1st a series of explosions, causing £60,000 worth of damage, heralded the start of a widespread campaign of violence, cruelty and murder under the direction of Grivas.

In this campaign Grivas has had one objective and one only: Enosis, or Union with Greece. For that he lives, and for that he is prepared to die—and to make others die. From this single-mindedness it follows that his enemies are all people—Cypriot, Turkish or British—who do anything to weaken the cause of Enosis or to strengthen the hands of its opponents. He considers that they are "traitors" and deserve to die. Into this capacious net are drawn the British authorities and all Greek Cypriots who cooperate with them—the Cypriot policeman, the Cypriot civil servant, the mukhtar, or village headman, the woman who wears a dress made of British material or who otherwise infringes the boycott of British goods which he has ordered, the Cypriot who gives evidence about a terrorist attack of which he had been a witness; and, of course, all Turkish Cypriots. Other Greek Cypriots, not Britons or Turks, are EOKA's most numerous victims. Of the total fatal casualties which occurred up to the middle of this year—about 320—over half involved Greek Cypriots, one third were British and the remainder Turks. The killings are done largely, but not exclusively, by well organised and well-disciplined murder gangs; not exclusively by them, for a 15 or 16 year old recruit from a youth organisation may find himself presented with a gun and told to go out and shoot a fellow Cypriot or a British soldier—any British soldier. It is an order that he may well fear to disobey. Personal papers of Grivas which have been captured by the British authorities contain numerous references to the need for absolute discipline among the terrorists and threats of execution for those who fail. There is, for instance, the following oath taken by a young initiate before joining EOKA:

> "I will obey the orders of my superiors in whatsoever difficult, hard and risky job I am to undertake.
>
> I am ready to sacrifice my life for the sake of the freedom of my country.
>
> Serving in the organisation I have to obey all orders and set aside any obstacles.
>
> The people who do not obey the aforesaid rules will be executed, and also those who divulge the secrets of

> the organisation or who fail to obey the orders. Any member who feels that he is afraid or a coward should not take the oath."

The demoralisation of Cypriot youth may well prove to be the greatest of all the crimes perpetrated by EOKA and its sponsors. Apart from deeds of outright physical violence, the tactics pursued have caused widespread compulsory strikes of school pupils, attacks on and ridicule of school teachers, destruction of discipline, and such chaos throughout primary and secondary schools that a generation of Cypriot youth have largely lost their education. They have been trained in rebellion and violence. Youths and girls have been taught that it is noble to take part in murder. Children have been urged to betray their own parents and to defy authority to such a degree that on occasion even the Archbishop has been unable to control them. But this does not worry Grivas. In one of his leaflets, addressed to schoolchildren, he has written: "The cause is more sacred than your teacher, your father or your mother."

A word must be said about the relations of Grivas with the left-wing parties in Cyprus. It is a habit of some people to attribute practically all political unrest, wherever it occurs, to the machinations of Communists. This is certainly not true of Cyprus. Admittedly Russia has an interest in fomenting dissension among Western countries, and to that extent Communism may be a complicating and reinforcing factor; but it is definitely not the prime cause of our difficulties. That is simply and solely the demand of Greek Cypriots for union with Greece. Grivas himself is a right-wing extremist and regards Communists as his natural enemies. The Communist party known as AKEL, which stands for Reform Party of the Working People, is the best disciplined and most efficient political party in Cyprus, and the Communist-controlled trade union (the Pancyprian Federation of Labour) is the most effective labour organisation in the island. The members of the party and the trade union may or may not be believers in Enosia. There is no reason why they should not be, for probably very few of them consciously adhere to any Communist philosophy, their attachment to the union being founded on a feeling that Communist methods are the best way of fighting their industrial battle and are more likely to achieve their objects than gentler methods. It would indeed be more accurate and more realistic to speak of these organisations as left-wing, rather than as Communist. The rift between Grivas and members of the extreme left-wing parties is deep-seated. There are frequent clashes between right- and left-wing supporters, in the course of which a number of people on both sides have been killed. It remains true, however, that the great majority of the Greek Cypriots killed or injured or intimidated by EOKA have been condemned, not as left-wingers but as "traitors to Enosis".

An important factor in the developments of recent years in Cyprus has been the open and explicit emergence, first of all of the Greek and later of the Turkish government as active participants in the negotiations. Greece had long toyed with the idea and had always been in the background of Cypriot agitation; but the Greek government had, in the words of the Greek Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs in 1952, felt "obliged to show great care so as not to jeopardise the traditional friendship which exists between Greece and Great Britain." These were fair words but it was often difficult to reconcile them with, for instance, the scurrilous abuse of the British which flowed out over the government-controlled Athens radio. It can therefore have been no great surprise to Britain when, in 1953, it was announced that there had been formed in Athens an official Panhellenic Committee for the Union of Greece and Cyprus. Henceforth Enosis became avowedly part of Greek government policy.

It was some years later before Turkey came directly and actively into the picture. Ever since Cyprus had been assigned to Britain in 1878 Turkey had been quite happy with the arrangement. By and large, at any rate in more recent years, Turkish and Greek Cypriots had lived reasonably contentedly together in the island but, in the Turkish view, only because Britain held the balance between the two communities. Moreover, Cyprus, only 43 miles from the coast of Turkey, was in the nature of what we have come to know in another area as an off-shore island. It could be used as a base from which to dominate some of Turkey's main shipping routes and even to launch an attack on the mainland. For all these reasons Turkey became more and more concerned over any threat of union of Cyprus with Greece. Though the two countries are technically friendly nations and are both members of NATO, there is between them, as everyone knows, a long history of enmity and strife, attended frequently by revolting atrocities. Not unnaturally the Turkish government was fearful, or at least unconfident, about the welfare of Turkish Cypriots if Cyprus were to come under Greek administration. It was therefore scarcely a matter of surprise that in the course of the year 1957 the Turkish government came to take the view that, in the light of EOKA terrorism and the deterioration in the relations between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, it would no longer be possible for them to live together peacefully, and that partition in some form or other was therefore essential. This has since been the demand both of the Turkish government and of the politcial leaders of the Turkish population in Cyprus.

It would be tedious to tell in detail the story of all Britain's efforts made through the years to bring about a settlement in Cyprus. Between 1954 and the middle of 1958 we put forward three sets of proposals which provided for a liberal and mainly self-governing constitution but which, for the reasons I have given, did not include the right of immediate self-determination or union with Greece. All of these were rejected out of hand. We convened a tripartite conference of Foreign Ministers of Greece, Turkey and Britain in London in September, 1955, but it speedily became apparent that no useful result could be achieved and the conference had to be suspended. The Secretary-General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation offered his good offices in 1957; this was accepted by Britain and Turkey but refused by Greece.

All these things took place against a background of violence and intimidation, disrupting normal life in Cyprus and necessitating in return constant curfews, searches and other security measures on our part. In March, 1956, the Governor of Cyprus, having become convinced beyond all reasonable doubt of the deep implication of Archbishop Makarios in the campaign of violence and terrorism, reluctantly decided that he must be deported. He and three other persons closely involved were taken to the Seychelles, where they remained until they were released and went to Athens in March, 1957. They were not allowed to return to Cyprus, though there is little doubt that if violence had ceased they would have been permitted to go back.

Towards the end of 1957 the arrival of a new Governor, Sir Hugh Foot, to succeed Field Marshal Sir John Harding, as he then was, offered, it was hoped, a new opportunity of improving conditions in Cyprus. The Governor mingled freely with the people and he invited Colonel Grivas to meet him alone and unarmed. This offer was denounced as another Imperialist trick. Various relaxations were made in the security regulations, the object always being "to achieve a balance between the necessity for . . . security of life and property and the desire to abandon extraordinary powers, reluctantly taken and sparingly used." But there was no response; the life of Cyprus continued to be dominated by terrorism and intimidation.

Nevertheless the British government made another major effort to bring about a settlement. The new plan announced by Mr. Macmillan in the House of Commons on 19th June, 1958, provided for a seven year period of partnership of the three governments (Greek, Turkish and British) and the two Cypriot communities, without prejudice to the isand's ultimate status. Eventual complete self-determination was neither accepted nor rejected; it would have to be decided at the end of the seven year period. The plan differed also in other important respects from previous proposals; for example, in the association of the Greek and Turkish governments in the administration of the island (each country was to have a representative in Cyprus); in the provision of separate Houses of Representatives for the Greek and Turkish communities;

and in offering to share the sovereignty of the island with Britain's Greek and Turkish allies.

The scheme received a tepid reception from the Greek government. However, Mr. Karamanlis, the Greek Prime Minister, went so far as to suggest that "a proposal from the British government for a temporary solution on the basis of democratic self-government under British sovereignty, with postponement of the main issue (Enosis) until a more suitable time" might be considered. This could be a subject of discussion between the British government and the Cypriot people; and Greece would be prepared to play a mediatory role. He thought that a meeting between the two Prime Ministers would be useful in principle; but that a tri-partite meeting (with Turkey) could not have constructive results under present conditions. Turkey, on the other hand, favoured a tri-partite conference at which the new British plan could be used "not as a basis but as a document".

The hint contained in the Greek government's comment was acted upon and Mr. Macmillan flew to Athens and afterwards, to the ill-concealed annoyance of the Greeks, to Ankara. At the same time Sir Hugh Foot came from Cyprus to Athens in order to have talks with Archbishop Makarios. Soon after Mr. Macmillan's return the matter was further considered in the light of the Greek and Turkish views and on 15th August it was announced that the government proposed to proceed with its plan, with certain amendments, particularly in relation to the status and functions of the proposed Greek and Turkish government representatives. The Greek reactions were immediate and angry. Archbishop Makarios issued a long statement denouncing the plan as dishonest and insincere and refusing absolutely to cooperate in its implementation. Terrorist activities, which had been in abeyance in Cyprus, were renewed with added intensity, and security countermeasures had perforce to be employed.

So matters stood until the last week of September. In that week Archbishop Makarios suddenly announced that he was willing to forgo Enosis, at least for the time being. He would be prepared to accept a seven year period of self-government, with foreign policy and defence left in

British hands, and with a promise of independence at the end of that period. Independence might be either within the Commonwealth or outside it; but no change would be made in the independent status of Cyprus, by union with Greece, by partition, or in any other way, without the approval of the United Nations. This dramatic renunciation of his demand for immediate Enosis had indubitably been wrung from the Archbishop by the imminent threat of separate Turkish participation in the government of Cyprus. Turkish rule has left bitter memories and the possibility of Turkish administration of even a part of the island is anathema to the Greek Cypriots and to the Greek Orthodox Church. Makarios undertook that full safeguards would be provided for the Turkish population but further than that he would not go.

The Turks, not unnaturally, felt uncertain about the nature and scope of the promised safeguards and generally viewed the Makarios proposals with suspicion; and the British government, after full consideration of the situation created by Makarios' new move, decided not to abandon its intention of putting its own interim plans into execution, in spite of the refusal of the Greek Cypriots to cooperate. In the hope of preventing a complete impasse M. Spaak, the Secretary General of N.A.T.O., attempted to mediate. A preliminary round table conference of Greeks, Turks and British was under N.A.T.O. auspices. Discussion was protracted and difficult, and I see from this morning's paper that the Greeks have now refused to continue the meetings unless they are given guarantees that the negotiations will be "constructive". Failing such guarantees they propose to take the matter, for I believe the fourth time to the United Nations. During the weeks that have elapsed since M. Spaak took action, Cyprus has been the scene of intensified violence (including the murder of a soldier's wife) and widespread intimidation of the Greek Cypriot population. More extensive security measures have had to be employed, including recently an unprecedented round-up of 650 Cypriot suspects. These measures have been taken with reluctance and with the minimum use of force. But it would be unrealistic to pretend that such operations against actual and potential terrorists could possibly be carried out without some injuries and even fatalities among the persons against whom they are directed, many of whom may be expected to be desperate and ruthless in resisting arrest. Of course, the hostile and inspired progaganda which ignores or plays down the inhumanity of the terrorists exults in magnifying any severity to which our own soldiers, even in self-defence, may be compelled to resort.

It is a tragic story, and to all who have known the charm of Cyprus it is rendered all the more poignant by the affection which they feel for that lovely island and which, in spite of distress and scurrilous abuse, many Cypriots still feel for England. But the problem is not hopeless. Britain has made it abundantly clear that her plan is not sacrosanct—that there is room for negotiation and modification and adjustment. I take some comfort from a remark which was once made to me by a very wise British civil servant who was engaged at the time in some rather ticklish negotiations with another member of the Commonwealth. (In case you are anxious, let me say it was not Canada.) We seemed to be up against a blank wall and most of us could see no possibility of progress or agreement—a circumstance which seemed to cause him no concern whatever. When I commented on this he said "One must remember that in negotiations nothing is ever quite as bad, or quite as good, as it appears to be." It proved so in that case; a way was found. So may it be in the case of Cyprus.

One may be tempted sometimes to wonder whether Britain, faced by the agonising and seemingly intractable problem of Cyprus, would not be justified in simply forsaking the island and leaving its people to work out their own salvation. There are, I think, at least two powerful reasons why this cannot be done. There is first of all the strategic importance of Cyprus both to Britain and to N.A.T.O. Secondly, there is the strong possibility that, with feelings inflamed as they are now, our departure from the island would quickly be followed by civil war between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, with Greece and Turkey intervening and precipating perhaps a general war which could scarcely be contained in that small corner of the Mediterranean Sea. These are grave and heavy responsibilities—responsibilities to the free world and to the people of Cyprus, Greeks and Turks alike, with whose welfare we were charged well-nigh a century ago. We cannot lightly shelve the task. We must, and we shall, continue unremittingly to search for, and seek to secure acceptance of, a fair and just solution, hoping and believing that, as someone has said in a much wider context, "there will be light at the end, and the equation will come out at last".

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. J. R. W. Wilby.

Sir Grantley Adams Meeting, October 23rd, 1958. *From Left to Right:* Lt.-Col. Bruce Legge; Sir Grantley Adams.

Hon. Charles E. Wilson Meeting, November 6th, 1958. *From Left to Right:* Rt. Hon. C. D. Howe; Lt.-Col. B. J. Legge; Hon. Charles E. Wilson.

“GOOD NEIGHBOURS”

An Address by

CHARLES E. WILSON
Former United States Secretary of Defence

Thursday, November 6, 1958

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. Bruce Legge.

LT.-COL. LEGGE: Our speaker today, the Honourable Charles Erwin Wilson, is a wise, witty, forthright and articulate man of action. Mr. Wilson spoke to us in January, 1951, as the President of General Motors Corporation on the difficult subject, ‘The Essentials for Labour Peace’. According to Mr. Wilson’s well-established custom, he clearly defined his principles and then gave his prescription for labour peace. Today our speaker has chosen a similarly vital and no longer innocuous subject of ‘Good Neighbours’.

In these times when all the accepted leaders of the free world are saying that survival depends not only on military might, but on helping each other in every sphere of activity, the subject becomes even more important because no two countries are more closely dependent on each other than Canada and the United States. In fact, there are even international commissions to regulate our relationships with Congressional committees to analyse our problems.

For many years our speaker has had a very real interest in Canada because of his association with the world-wide complex—The General Motors Corporation, of which he was President in the expansive and exacting years from 1940 to 1952. Then, when President Eisenhower was seeking to build a cabinet of all the talents, he prevailed upon Charles Wilson to renounce his General Motors possessions and give his services to the nation. In the words of one acute observer of the American scene, 'Of all the big businessmen recruited by Dwight Eisenhower for his first Administration, the biggest was Charles Erwin Wilson'.

But our speaker is much more than a phenomenon of successful business and mammoth government. He is a colourful, tolerant man who understands the motives of others and once attributed the dissensions in the Pentagon to the fact that 'The eager beavers are gnawing down some of the wrong trees'. He is also a practical philosopher and a blunt, direct man of affairs who has maintained his momentum in bitter times by a sparkling good humour. This allowed him to say in the midst of one crisis that, 'The price of progress is trouble—and I must be making lots of progress'.

We in The Empire Club of Canada have long admired his progress and I am honoured to introduce the Honourable Charles Wilson—a trusted friend of this country who will now deal with the lively subject, 'Good Neighbours'.

MR. WILSON: I appreciate your kind introduction, and I am very pleased to have this opportunity to speak to such a distinguished group of Canadians. I have been especially interested in Canada and Canadians for more than thirty years, first in a business way while I was an executive and president of General Motors, and later in regard to our common military problems during World War II and while I was Secretary of Defense of the United States.

When I think of Canada and Canadians, I always think of my good friends, the Honourable C. D. Howe, and my close business associate of many years, Col. R. S. McLaughlin. During all these years my contacts with Canadians have been very pleasant and satisfactory. When in Canada I have always been treated with courtesy and understanding and I have tried to reciprocate, so I thought I would take as a subject today "Good Neighbours". I am sure that many of the things I will say today have been said before by people from both sides of the border.

Nevertheless, I think they will bear repeating, especially as a background for some of the other things I would like to say.

Perhaps there are no two nations in the world as close as Canada and the United States. We have thousands of miles of common border, none of which is fortified; we travel freely in each other's countries; we speak a common language; our money is very similar, both currencies being measured in dollars, and even through the stress of two world wars and a great depression, our dollars have not varied greatly in their relative purchasing power. While the organizations of our governments vary somewhat, this is much more a matter of form than it is principle. We draw our political organizations and philosophy largely from a common inheritance. Both our countries have great natural resources, fertile farm lands, and industrious people. Also, both are industrial nations and have very similar problems in commerce and industry and world trade. We even both have agricultural surpluses. Many American and Canadian corporations have plants in both countries. If one of my American business friends had a branch plant in Canada or was thinking of starting one, I would advise him to project his business policy in Canada on the basis that what was good for Canada was good for his business and vice versa.

Perhaps the most important things that draw our two nations together are a common inheritance of free institutions and our common religious background. It has been proven in many places over the world that it takes something more than a formal governmental structure to make a democracy work, and I have always thought education of all citizens and a background of common law and other types of free institutions must exist.

Several months ago in discussing this question of what really makes a democracy work, a friend of mine was reminded of a speech that the Honourable Lord Moulton made a number of years ago, and he sent me a copy of it. I was so impressed by it that I decided to read part of it to you today. The subject was "Law and Manners". To quote:

"In order to explain this extraordinary title I must ask you to follow me in examining the three great domains of human action. First comes the domain of positive law, where our actions are prescribed by laws binding upon us which must be obeyed. Next comes the domain of free choice, which includes all those actions as to which we claim and enjoy complete freedom. But between these two there is a third large and important domain in which there rules neither positive law nor absolute freedom. In that domain there is no law which inexorably determines our course of action, and yet we feel that we are not free to choose as we would. The degree of this sense of a lack of complete freedom in this domain varies in every case. It grades from a consciousness of duty nearly as strong as positive law, to a feeling that the matter is all but a question of personal choice. Some might wish to parcel out this domain into separate countries, calling one, for instance, the domain of duty, another the domain of public spirit, another the domain of good form; but I prefer to look at it as all one domain of obedience to the unenforceable. The obedience is the obedience of a man to that which he cannot be forced to obey. He is the enforcer of the law upon himself."

"All these three domains are essential to the properly organized life of the individual, and one must be on one's guard against thinking that any of them can safely be encroached upon. That law must exist needs no argument. But, on the other hand, the domain of free choice should be dear to all. This is where spontaneity, originality, and energy are born."

"The great movements which make the history of a great country start there. It covers a precious land where the actions of men are not only such as they choose, but have a right to claim freedom even from criticism. Men must keep safely guarded this right to follow the bent of their nature in proper cases and act as they would without anyone having the right to utter a word of dictation or command. This country forms the other frontier of the domain of manners and delimits it on the side farthest away from that of positive law."

"The dangers that threaten the maintenance of this domain of manners arise from its situation between the region of absolute choice and the region of positive law. There are countless supporters of the movements to enlarge the sphere of positive law. In many countries, especially in the younger nations, there is a tendency to make laws to regulate everything. On the other hand, there is a growing tendency to treat matters that are not regulated by positive law as being matters of absolute choice. Both these movements are encroachments on the middle land, and to my mind the real greatness of a nation, its true civilization, is measured by the extent of this land of obedience to the unenforceable. It measures the extent to which the nation trusts its citizens, and its existence and area testify to the way they behave in response to the trust. Mere obedience to law does not measure the greatness of a nation. It can easily be obtained by a strong executive, and most easily of all from a timorous people. Nor is the license of behaviour which so often accompanies the absence of law, and which is miscalled liberty, a proof of greatness. The true test is the extent to which the individuals composing the nation can be trusted to obey self-imposed law."

"The tendency of modern legislation is to extend the area ruled by positive law, and to diminish the area of action which is determined by the decision of the individual himself. But there is one great example in the opposite direction. In one instance the people have deliberately chosen to carve a domain out of that previously covered by positive law and to throw it into a domain where the individual can determine for himself his course of action. Take the legislation relating to trades unions and trade disputes. Limitations in the power of combination have been swept away, and to a great extent that which was previously marked out by law is now in the hands of the individuals themselves."

"I am far from suggesting that this was a retrograde step, but to my mind the question whether it is dangerous, and whether it may and will become disastrous, depends on whether the masters of workmen who gained this freedom of action, not allowed them by common law, look upon the change as justifying their treating the matters to which it relates as belonging to the realm of absolute choice, or whether as belonging to the realm where, though not restrained by positive law, they yet recognize the duty of obedience to the unenforceable. Do they recognize that the increase of their freedom of action brings with it not unfettered choice but the corresponding responsibility of using that freedom?"

"I am not afraid to trust people; my fear is that people will not see that trust is being reposed in them. Hence I have no wish that positive law should annex this intermediate country. On the contrary, I dread it. Instead of the iron rule of law being thrown over it, I would rather see it well policed by the inhabitants. I am too well acquainted with the inadequacy of the formal language of statutes to prefer them to the living action of public and private sense of duty."

I find myself in complete agreement with Lord Moulton's analysis of the three great domains of human action, and I am certain that his analysis applies equally in Canada and the United States. In fact, the relations between Canada and the United States could be grouped in three great domains: positive law where we have formal treaties between our two great nations; complete freedom where citizens of our respctive countries and our nations themselves can take completely independent action; and a third broad domain which is neither covered by formal treaty relations nor is completely independent, for we have so many common problems and our relations are so close that we must continue to be good neighbours and be governed accordingly in this third domain, which Lord Moulton called "good manners" for lack of a better word to describe the way good friends treat each other.

In a talk not so long ago, I said that people generally were interested in three things, and I am certain this applies equally on both sides of the border. These three things are: (1) his or her personal and family problems, how to make ends meet, educate the children, good health, success of a business, and continuity of a job; (2) national domestic problems, the integrity and efficiency of their government, the possible drift towards communism, civil rights, the threat of inflation, depression or unemployment; and (3) foreign affairs and international problems including foreign trade, travel and cultural exchanges, agreements with allies, and, above all else, the trend towards peace or war.

I assume that the personal interests and motivations of Canadians and Americans are the same. We have many common domestic problems as nations even though they may have somewhat different emphasis in our two countries. We have the common problem of defense of the North American continent and our close association in the United Nations, and the overhanging problem of peace or war in the conflict between the East and West. In my lifetime, Canadians and Americans have fought side by side in three wars. I hope they will never have to do it again, but the possibility cannot be ignored.

The ideological conflict between the East and West with the threat of militant communism is further complicated by the rise of nationalism in many places over the world. I subscribe to the theory that our countries must continue to be strong in a military sense during this troublesome period, but I do not believe that an all out armaments race will, in itself, underwrite peace, quite the contrary.

History shows that in the past an all out armaments race between great powers has inevitably led to war. There is reason to believe that history will repeat itself unless some important new factors have been added. In the past, new and more destructive weapons have not prevented big wars, but, in many cases, seem to have contributed to them. While weapon technology has been changing rapidly, especially during our lifetime, this in itself cannot be counted upon to result in more than a temporary stalemate, for people, basically, have changed very little through the centuries. Furthermore, as long as there are powerful dictators in the world, they must be watched. Therefore, something other than weapon technology must finally be depended upon to lay the foundation for a just and lasting peace.

In addition, it is obvious that the present challenge from the communist world is a three-pronged threat; a military one, an economic one, and a social-political one. While an all out armaments race with the Russians with the unbelievably powerful atomic weapons now available may result in an uneasy peace and give us more time to develop other methods of taking the heat out of the world, such an armaments race obviously will not counter the communist challenge in the economic and social-political areas. If the challenge in these areas is not also countered and resolved, we may lose our type of society and freedoms without a military showdown.

Nevertheless, I believe that war can be avoided due to some relatively new things in the world which, hopefully, change the conditions that have led to past catastrophic conflicts. I thought I would like to list five of them for you:

(1) I would place first technological and scientific inventions that have made available new products, better tools, and the use of mechanical horsepower and machines which clearly make possible the alleviation of abject poverty in the world; this, of course, assumes that this new knowledge will be used for peaceful purposes and not solely to build up more and more powerful military machines;

(2) What I call colonialism in reverse; some people call it assistance to backward nations; essentially, it is a recognition that if the more advanced and prosperous nations are to continue to be healthy and prosperous and peaceful, all peoples everywhere in the world must make some progress in better living, that their national aspirations, on their merits, must be recognized in the community of nations, a recognition that progress and prosperity must be shared; the best and most effective type of help is to help the people in less favoured nations to help themselves;

(3) The organization of the United Nations and the principles agreed to in its charter, including the means provided through the United Nations for airing the problems that may arise between nations and attempting to find solutions for all problems affecting peoples and nations without resort to arms;

(4) Rapid transportation and rapid communication, including radio and television as well as the press, which, in the long run, should establish a much better understanding among peoples; rapid transportation and com-

munication were, of course, made possible by technology and scientific inventions, but I specifically list them because of their affect on people and especially on the leaders and rulers of all nations; and

(5) The broader education of the masses of people all over the world. Canada and the United States have long recognized the importance of educating all young people as an inherent right, an economic need, and a political necessity if they were to intelligently exercise the right to self government; in recent decades all nations all over the world have come to recognize more and more that all people in their countries must have all the basic education that their ambitions and environment make possible.

While I have listed technical and scientific inventions as one of the new factors that obviously should contribute to a just and lasting peace, I recognize that they are also important in a strictly military sense. While I deplore the emphasis on an arms race, or even a technological race with the communists, I recognize that our nations must keep strong in the military sense and not be left behind in any important developments. In the past, nations that thought they had new and more powerful weapons were, in many cases, unable to resist the temptation to try the weapons out on their neighbours. In my opinion, therefore, we dare not follow the precedent that our countries have set in the past of dropping down to very weak military organizations between wars. Such a policy might, in itself, precipitate a war and there would be no time to rearm.

At the same time it seems equally clear that we cannot depend on arms, and arms alone, as the basis for peace abroad and freedom at home. This raises a very difficult question in the military area, a question of how much is enough, and an equally important one of how to maintain a stable economy and at the same time capture the minds of men throughout the world by demonstrating to them the real advantages of a free society.

Besides our serious and important defense problems, this also requires that we explore all proposals for disarmament realistically, but with an open mind. President Eisenhower has pointed out that there is no alternative to peace. A sound disarmament agreement would not only reduce the military burdens of both the East and the West, but much more importantly, would be pointed towards peace.

The communist problem is further aggravated by the rise of nationalism and the collapse of colonialism in certain places over the world. Peoples that have never known freedom and prosperity under a government freely chosen by themselves are, in many cases, not in a very good position to judge the relative merits of communism as compared to our democratic and free societies based on personal rights, personal freedoms, and personal responsibilities. They have no background in what Lord Moulton calls the domain of good manners or self discipline. Nevertheless, there is some reason to believe that the rise of communism may have reached and passed its peak. There is evidence in a number of countries that people are beginning to think, and that millions and millions of them are coming to realize that international communism is not the path to security, social justice, or happiness for individuals, nor the road to independence, prosperity and peace for any nation. Communism may be an improvement over serfdom, but it does not fulfill the age old desire of men to be free.

Here is what Mahatma Gandhi wrote some years ago regarding this important matter of freedom: "Individual freedom alone can make a man voluntarily surrender himself completely to the services of society. If it is wrested from him he becomes an automaton and society is ruined. No society can possibly be built on a denial of individual freedom. It is contrary to the very nature of man, and just as a man will not grow horns or a tail, so he will not exist as man if he has no mind of his own. In reality, even those who do not believe in liberty of the individual, believe in their own."

We have other external problems resulting from restrictions on trade, the need of nations to have reasonable access to raw material and markets, and the fact that our modern means of transportation and communication have made the world so relatively much smaller. For these reasons we face many problems involving the peoples of all nations which require that we all make a great effort to better understand one another so that we may live in peace together. The organization of the United Nations is an effort to help solve these problems.

Our internal problems largely result from our desires to improve the political and social structure of our nations, while at the same time maintaining basic individual rights. Thus, the internal problems that are troubling us involve our desires to have better schools and educational facilities; to avoid inflation and maintain a stable economy; to avoid discrimination for any reason; how best to improve opportunities for all; what to do about the surplus crops being raised on our farms; how to maintain reasonably full employment and at the same time work out the proper relation between unions with responsible leadership, employers, and the equities of all the people—just to mention a few of the most important ones.

I am not proposing solutions for any of these important problems today. I do wish to point out that they can only be solved with courage based on knowledge of the facts and with an understanding of the factors involved, including an understanding of the things that motivate human beings. I do feel certain that these important problems will not be solved by adopting the theories and practices of the communists. Now I do not take the position that our countries are perfect or that our institutions cannot or should not be improved. Our mechanized industrial age, our big cities, our tremendously aggressive people, our high standard of living, have created new problems. But certainly they can be dealt with within the bounds of the principles that have made our countries great. I would not take the position that we cannot improve our society any more than I would take the position that we cannot improve our automobiles, household appliances and other machines. We always think when we bring out the new ones that they are the best ones we have ever made, and they usually are. Before very long we get some new ideas on how to make them better, and the next ones are better. But in making these improvements we do not try to violate proven engineering and mechanical principles.

I am not one that looks wistfully to any period of the past. I would not recommend that we turn the clock back even if we could. I would like to make sound progress from where we are. Much is expected of our great countries. Never have so few promised so much to so many, leaving it up to future generations to make good. And if we adhere to the principles that made our countries great, a surprising number of these promises will be fulfilled. But if we try to place ignorance and intelligence on the same basis and try to reward laziness and industry equally, we will not make good on any of our plans either at home or abroad.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. John W. Griffin, a Past President of the Club.

"MEN AND MISSILES"

An Address by

AIR MARSHAL W. A. CURTIS,
C.B., C.B.E., D.S.C., LL.D., E.D.,
Vice-Chairman of the Board, A. V. Roe Canada Ltd.

Thursday, November 13, 1958

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. Bruce Legge.

LT.-COL. LEGGE: Robert Burns' familiar observation, "The best-laid schemes of mice and men gang aft agley" can surely be applied to missiles and men. Judging from the reports which emanate from Cape Canaveral, there is a chance that the best-laid missile plans also may often go astray.

And yet, to those of us who saw the havoc which the early V2 missiles wrought on London and Antwerp in 1944, deadly accuracy and destruction can be achieved by missiles. The study of the problems of men and missiles is therefore the one effort which this civilization cannot avoid if it is to survive the atomic era.

Today, Air Marshal W. A. Curtis will speak to us in two capacities; as a leader of men and as a potential maker of missiles. In peace and in war Air Marshal Curtis has been dedicated to the conquest of the air. During the First World War he served as a fighter pilot in France and before being invalided home, he had been awarded the notable decorations of the Distinguished Service Cross and Bar for his service to the Royal Navy. After the war he retained an active role in Canada's Armed Forces by joining the renowned Toronto Scottish Regiment. At the same time, he did not renounce his interest in flying and was one of the founders, and later

President, of the Toronto Flying Club. When Auxiliary Squadrons of the Royal Canadian Air Force were formed in 1932, he transferred from the Militia to the City of Toronto Squadron which he afterwards commanded. On the outbreak of War our speaker was one of the few people already trained to serve in an emergency and he was given a high appointment in the Commonwealth Air Training Plan. His ability was further recognized when he was sent overseas as the Deputy Commander in Chief from 1941 to 1944. Then in 1947 he attained the highest pinnacle the Royal Canadian Air Force has to offer when he was designated Chief of the Air Staff.

On his retirement from the Air Force in 1953 he joined A. V. Roe of Canada Limited as Vice-Chairman of the Board and is, therefore, a leader of that magnificent team which has created the astounding Arrow Interceptor Aeroplane. We congratulate Air Marshal Curtis on the triumphs of that great Canadian craft and we hope that it may soon surpass every world record. Despite his exacting tasks as the leader of Canada's Air Force and then as a maker of Canada's aeroplanes, Air Marshal Curtis has found time for good works and has been President of the Royal Canadian Air Force Association. He has also devoted himself to the establishment of another university in Toronto to be known as York University. For his many accomplishments our speaker has been made a Companion of the Bath, a Commander of the British Empire, and a Doctor of Laws. Gentlemen, we are honoured to hear Air Marshal W. A. Curtis speak to us authoritatively on the supreme subject of the future—'Men and Missiles'.

AIR MARSHAL CURTIS: I am honoured to be your guest speaker at this Remembrance Day luncheon. November 11th still has particular meaning for thousands of Canadians but for thousands more, the day passes unnoticed. We were all so hopeful when we finally won World War II. Many people said, "That was the war to end wars." Veterans were still busy adjusting themselves to peacetime conditions when Russia decided to disturb the peace of the world and the "Cold War" started. Thus, our peace hopes were dashed almost immediately. I suppose the present unrest is part of the evolutionary process we must go through. However, our generation seems to be getting more than its share of wars and rumors of war. In any event, when we pause to consider what we really did win in the two world wars, it is difficult to see anything tangible. The only thing I can think of is time. We did win time. Time for the governments of the world to learn to live with one another; to discuss our differences around the conference table. The United Nations Organization is far from perfect but it is a tremendous improvement on its predecessor the "League of Nations". This is a big step forward.

In war the greatest cost is "human life". True, we do put into it all of our "material resources", but they are insignificant in comparison with the human sacrifice. In the "Cold War" we are asked to give almost as much of our "material resources" as we gave during the last war, and if we want to prevent another shooting war, we, in company with all the Western Powers, must be prepared to continue to carry this burden. This is particularly difficult when the threat has been present for so long a time that we get used to living under it. Down through the ages, we of the English speaking countries have rebelled at paying the price of preparedness in peacetime, and as a result we have paid a much greater price in the long run, not only in material wealth but in the much more valuable asset, human lives.

Preparedness now means international thinking and planning. This is a broader field for Canadian military men than we ever faced before, and I am pleased to tell you that our officers are giving a good account of themselves. In all military planning, our officers are guided by Canada's defence policy which is widely known to be one of support for the United Nations, for NATO, and for the defence of North America. A joint effort, A partnership. This is neither "subservience" nor "compromising our sovereignty". I was one of the joint planners on the Canadian team from 1944 to 1947, and I can assure you that at no time from 1944 until my retirement in 1953, did any American officer, or government official, try to dominate these meetings, or force an American opinion or plan on that body. In fact, during my service experience from the time I went overseas in 1941 until 1953, I experienced nothing but the greatest cooperation and assistance from members of the United States services. They were at all times considerate of our government policy, and went out of their way to meet our wishes.

The defence of North America in this day and age is a big problem, and defence against air attack is the major task. The North American Air Defence System is designed to protect the great retaliatory power of SAC (Strategic Air Command) and the industrial heart of the continent. Canada's geographical position astride the northern approaches to most of SAC's retaliatory bases and the heart of North American industrial might, demands that we take every military decision only after the greatest possible coordination with our allies. For any who do not believe there is a good dividend in team play, there are the unfortunate examples of Belgium, Holland and Denmark prior to, and during, the World War II period, to contemplate.

Having established an alliance, and our government having approved of joint planning teams, it is only common prudence to develop the closest possible association with other members of the team. This, the RCAF and the USAF, did immediately after World War II, and have continued to do ever since. It is one of the really bright spots of collaboration on the international scene. There is no possibility of forming a sensible military plan unless it is done in close conjunction with the sister services of our principal allies. Likewise, we must know what they are thinking at the earliest possible moment so that they can be guided into suitable compromises with the operational requirement and our national sensitivity. Civilian government officials are not asked to assess any military plan until it can be outlined in detail. It cannot be properly presented to them until there has been a great deal of technical coordination. During this technical coordination there is a constant consideration of political and economic factors on the Canadian side in accordance with our policies, attitudes and restrictions, which are established at civilian policy levels. I might say at this point that the responsibility for the Strategic Air capability against an enemy was, by unanimous agreement of NATO, vested in the United States, and is carried out by the U.S. Strategic Air Command. We should be thankful that we share the much less expensive role of assisting in the air defence of North America.

A word or two about missiles might be in order at this time. I am not surprised that there is considerable confusion in trying to grasp this subject. There are so many different kinds of missiles and quite a number of guidance systems as well as functional uses. Also, some are in the testing stage, some in the design stage, and a very small number in use. First, there is the active and semi-active type. The active carries its own radar transmitter and receiver. Sends out radar signals and homes on the return. The semi-active carries a receiver only. This receives the return signal sent out by the parent aircraft or ground control station. Next, there is the passive type, known as the infra red, which is a heat seeker. Ballistic missiles have a system of their own, known as programme launching. This can be done entirely within the missile itself by gyros, accelerometers, and allied precision equipment, or control can be exercised from the ground by data link, which is a form of radio communication. The first system is jam proof. The second can be jammed but it is capable of course correction within narrow limits during the early stages of flight.

Missiles can be divided into four general functional roles: Ground to ground, which includes: Short range missiles such as Lacrosse; Medium range—up to 1,500 miles, known as IRBM's such as Black Knight, Thor; Long Range—up to 6,000 miles, known as ICBM's such as Atlas. Ground to air: Bomarc, Bloodhound, Mike, Sea Slug. Air to Air: Falcon, Firestreak, Sidewinder, Sparrow. Air to ground: Blue Steele, Rascal. There are many others. I have not tried to include them all, nor have I tried to identify them by country or the service responsible for their development. Not one of these is designed to destroy any of the others in flight. Some of them can destroy the carrying vehicle. Others can destroy their base. Some of these are in operational units ready for use. Some have been used in the fighting at Quemoy and the off-shore islands. The one that holds the greatest potential threat to us is, of course, the Intercontinental Ballistic Missile, when it eventually is ready for use by the military forces.

At present, there is no way of destroying an ICBM in flight, and there is not likely to be for some time. The manned bomber and ICBM's, where applicable, will be used to destroy their bases. The ICBM will travel at roughly 18,000 feet per second. By comparison, the fastest artillery shell travels at about 3,000 feet per second. We will not know the missile's true course until it has been under way for at least 10 minutes—the total time for a 6,000 mile missile flight is 32.4 minutes. This leaves 22 minutes to calculate the missile's course and destroy it. Getting a reading on the missile's course takes about 2 minutes. Our electronic brain receives this information and figures a course of interception. It will take 2 minutes for the electronic brain to make these calculations to guide our defensive interception. All of this, you will agree, is pretty accurate detailed work and does not allow for errors or fumbles. The equipment and the brainpower to create and operate it represents a fantastic investment.

I would like to explain in as few words as possible the reason why the manned bomber will be used for some considerable time after ICBMs are available for service use. First, the Russians have over 1,500, and are building more. The new ones will be supersonic. Second, bombers are much more reliable and versatile than missiles. Third, until the exact location, that is latitude and longitude in degrees, minutes, and seconds of the enemy missile base is known, it is impossible to set a course into our missile for it to fly. Bombers, on the other hand, can be started on their mission and be redirected en route if need be, or if an enemy fires a missile in the meantime, thus giving our radar crew an opportunity to get a bearing on the base. Aircrew are trained to recognize special types of buildings and installations, both visually and to a limited degree on their radar scopes. With its human crew it is capable of "on the spot decision". It is also capable of carrying out its mission with a number of its instruments unserviceable; something a missile cannot do, and a situation that occurs all too frequently. True, it is a relatively simple matter to hit our large industrial areas with missiles, and in all probability this would be done. However, destroying missile bases would have top priority for any country at war. This requires greater accuracy than area destruction. If manned bombers are going to be a threat, then what is the best means of destroying them? Enemy countermeasures, radar and radio, jamming, will be used. That we know now. Missiles are helpless if the jamming is on their frequency or if the ground control system is having difficulty either from jamming or heavy static. The manned interceptor with its human brain can switch from one frequency to another, while in flight, if the frequency on which they are operating is jammed. Early warning messages will indicate the general area of the raid, and the crew in a fairly long range aircraft will be able to do better than any other form of defence. I hope this will give you some idea of the problems facing the military advisors of which I have had some personal experience. I can assure you that these are not easily or lightly discharged, nor is the final responsibility for defence ever forgotten.

I suggest to you that two things stand out clearly. First, that the defence of North America, containing the deterrent power of the Strategic Air Command, is a major responsibility in maintaining the military balance of power. It has been the major military factor in preventing global war and is still our best hope of continuing to keep the peace. It is as important to our allied nations as it is to Canada, that this capability be protected and maintained. If the government of Canada should decide that we are going to reduce our capability and commitment for this purpose, then it is inevitable that the USA will have to take over the job, even if it means flying manned interceptor aircraft from Canadian bases. If we were to make such a decision, it would be at that point, and at that point only, that we would face the risk of subservience or loss of sovereignty. This, in my opinion, will not happen.

Outer space travel is the next step beyond missilery. The X15, which is due to fly next year, is the first effort by man to fly outside the earth's atmosphere, It will be done in a manned rocket. Pilots are being conditioned for the job now. You will be interested in the forecast of future flying events, which Dr. G. N. Patterson, President of the Canadian Aeronautical Institute, called attention to recently. This forecast was published by Jas. B. Edson, Assistant Director, Research and Development of the U.S. Army. This schedule is as follows: 1958-1962: Launching of unmanned vehicles around the moon and back to the vicinity of the earth. Solution of the re-entry problem and recovery of satellites. Progress in readying man biologically for space flight. 1963-1967: Launching of highly developed satellites with payloads of 5,000-10,000 lbs. Permanent manned satellite stations. 1968-1973: First manned landing on the moon. Establishment of permanent lunar bases. First landing on Mars. Whether one agrees with this timetable, or not, it is evident that in the next 50 years the world will witness a phenomenal expansion from aeronautics to astronautics. The world is on the threshold of the greatest aviation development it has ever known, and all the things that made it possible started a short 55 years ago with the first flight of a heavier-than-air plane by the Wright brothers. We are to celebrate the 50th Anniversary of Powered Flight in Canada next year. It will be 50 years on February 23rd since the Honourable J. A. D. McCurdy first flew at Baddeck, N.S.

If we are to insure our growth as a sovereign nation, respected in the councils of the world; if we are to insure our position in the highly technological age now beginning; and, above all, if we are to play our fair role in protecting that precious element of time, the one thing earned by the selfless human sacrifices in two world wars, we must face the fact that there is a continuing price to be paid. By using the time to seek international understanding while deterring aggression through strength, the price will be in terms of material only. As I said earlier, Remembrance Day marks a period when we should assess how well we have protected and used the time bought by thousands of young lives. Because of the price paid for that time, our performance must inevitably fall short of what it should be. I believe that within the limits of human frailty we have made good use of the time and have conscientiously striven to protect and extend it. If we continue to approach these responsibilities with energy, understanding and determination, the sacrifice of the young people we remember at this time will not have been made in vain.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Major Arthur J. Langley.

"CHINESE NATIONALISM, OLD AND NEW"

An Address by

EDWARD BIGELOW JOLLIFFE, Q.C.,
Former Leader of the Opposition, Ontario Legislature

Thursday, November 20, 1958

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. Bruce Legge.

LT.-COL. LEGGE: When Mr. Edward Jolliffe consented to speak to us on Chinese Nationalism, I suggested that as a journalist he might like to make it more colourful by entitling his speech, 'Chinese Nationalism—Red and Blue'. But he thought that was too frivolous for our serious forum and we are pleased that he will speak to us on 'Chinese Nationalism—Old and New'.

While King George III was finding it impossible to bring his unruly American colonies into line by force, the great English conservative philosopher, Edmund Burke, took the then unpopular side and advocated compromise with the Colonies. In his famous speech on Conciliation with America in 1775 he said—'Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom; and a great empire and little minds go ill together'.

This attitude of generosity and open-mindedness to an opponent is sometimes found in domestic politics but is seldom evident in international affairs where all the passions of race, nationalism and patriotism are so easily aroused. Within The Empire Club of Canada we are concerned with all the problems that confront Canada and the Commonwealth, and there is no problem requiring truer wisdom than the emergence of the Communist Block of

Nations of which China is certainly a senior partner. Yet, the most elusive aspect of dealing with the New China is the terrifying lack of critical Western observers in China. For example, there is normally only one English-speaking correspondent in Peking, and therefore we are most fortunate to have an expert on China, Edward Jolliffe, speak to us following his extensive tour of Communist China last summer. Mr. Jolliffe was born in Luchow, the son of United Church Missionaries, and the first seventeen years of his life were spent there. Mr. Jolliffe also had the advantage of being educated by his mother in their Chinese outpost and then at schools in Canada and China. He was further trained at Universities in three countries, West China Union University; Victoria University in Toronto; Christ Church College, Oxford; Gray's Inn, London, and Osgoode Hall Law School in Toronto. He was a remarkable student and was designated the Rhodes Scholar for Ontario in 1931 and he was also awarded the coveted Arden scholarship at Gray's Inn in 1937. After this magnificent schooling he became a member of the English Bar in 1934, the Ontario Bar in 1936 and was created a King's Counsel in 1944.

But Mr. Jolliffe's activities were not narrowly restricted to the law and he was also a professional journalist and later a practising politician. The British Labour Party first attracted him to politics whilst a Rhodes scholar at Oxford and on his return to Canada he worked for the C.C.F. Party. Soon his remarkable talents were recognized and he became a boy wonder when he was chosen leader of the Provincial Party at the age of thirty-three. The next year he became the Leader of His Majesty's Loyal Opposition in the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, which responsibility he bore from 1943 to 1945, and from 1948 to 1951.

Our speaker has now ceased to be active in politics and has become one of Canada's leading Labour lawyers. Nevertheless, the demands of an exacting practise do not overwhelm him, and he has attained a high reputation for his integrity as a writer and for his skill as a radio and television commentator. In all things Mr. E. B. Jolliffe, Q.C., is as courageous as he is brilliant, and The Empire Club of Canada is fortunate to hear him speak with his exceptional candour and authority on the subject which causes so much anxiety in the Western Alliance—'Chinese Nationalism—Old and New'.

MR. JOLLIFFE: It's quite true: I was born in China and spent most of my first seventeen years there. Naturally, I've never lost interest in a place with which, at one time or another, about 40 members of my family, or my family connection, have had strong personal ties, and where we had made many friends. When I returned to China this year after 32 years, it was not for any political or commercial purpose, but because of personal curiosity. I was prudent enough to take a corps of legal advisers, no less than four members of the Bar from the City of Toronto. We travelled together, most of the time, and they all did their best to keep me out of trouble and to protect me from being carried away by my pro-Chinese prejudices, or by Chinese hospitality.

The Chinese Law Association was most hospitable and I must say their officers and staff did everything possible to enable us to see anybody we wanted to see and go anywhere we wanted to go. When we needed an interpreter, we had an interpreter. If we didn't, it was easy to talk with people in many different walks of life, and we often did so in the privacy of their own homes. When we met, it was on the friendliest possible basis. However, sooner or later, being lawyers, we would revert to type and cross-examine, on their own experiences or their view of the new China. It's not easy to cross-examine a Chief Justice or a Prime Minister, but we tried and they all took it very well and with good humour. The only subject on which we never made the slightest progress towards common ground was that of Soviet aggression in Hungary. Among those we subjected to this treatment were peasants and workers, pedicab men, shopkeepers, leaders of agricultural co-ops and industrial co-ops, a few cabinet ministers and several old ladies sitting in front of their farm-houses, the Vice-President of Peking University and the President of what used to be well-known to Canadians as West China Union University, a man who was in prison for murder (when I asked him how many, he said: "Oh, four or five!") and an equally interesting character, the warden of the same prison.

We had lengthy discussions with at least a dozen judges, of whom several were women and a good many lawyers, one of China's leading novelists, the editors of several magazines (some of which are published in fifteen languages, both Asiatic and European), engineers, technicians and factory managers, radio and television people, the President of the Chungking Chamber of Commerce and an interesting collection of former capitalists who now work for the regime, some of them still very wealthy men. And, among many others: an Anglican bishop, several Protestant ministers and three Catholic priests. We talked also, of course, to foreigners who live in China for various reasons, diplomatic, commercial or political. With or without cross-examination, I did not get from any of these people, Chinese or foreign, any suggestion, or even a hint, that the present regime in Peking is temporary, or that it lacks popular support. All the evidence which came to my attention was the other way.

No one can pose as an expert witness on the strength of a four-week visit in China, and I do not do so. However, I did travel about five thousand miles through a dozen provinces and I suppose I am here as a witness of some kind, for whatever it may be worth. But I don't come before you today with any claim to be an impartial witness. I do have bias, in at least two different directions. On the one hand, as an unrepentant social democrat and nonconformist, my bias is against the gospel according to Lenin and Stalin, and I am well aware of the incalculable damage it has done to individualism and liberty, not only in communist countries but also in many western countries where, because of fear of communism in recent years, nonconformity too often has been crudely identified with treason. On the other hand, I am biased in favour of the Chinese people and China as a nation. I respect their ancient culture. I admire the qualities and capacity of the Chinese people, and I cannot but have sympathy for their tremendous struggle to achieve national salvation and to emerge at last from many long centuries of abject poverty and cruel oppression by foreign and native tyrants. With so much bias in various directions, I cannot speak in tones of lofty impartiality, and I may betray certain mixed sentiments. After all, I am, with no apologies, a Canadian citizen and a British subject. I am also a warm admirer of both the Americans and the Chinese. I have lived quite happily with both of them from time to time; not without moments of exasperation, from which, as like all Canadians inured to such hardships, one always recovers in due course. At the risk of being labelled pro-Chinese, and I'm advised it's a considerable risk in a world which seems to be infatuated with the wearing of labels, or pinning labels on other people, I shall attempt, perhaps rashly, to explain a little of China, and partly from the Chinese point of view. I do so because I doubt that the real significance of certain events in the East can be judged without some understanding of why the Chinese think and act as they do at the present time.

I cannot imagine any place, at any time, where you would get such an overpowering picture of history in the making, history at high speed. It's as though the whole of the Roman Empire in Julius Caesar's time had suddenly decided to go all out, at all costs, and overtake the United States of the twentieth century and to do it in one hectic generation, within the life-span of men who were born, as I was, under the last of the Manchu Emperors. At first you are sure this is impossible. Of course, at the leisurely pace of development on this continent, it is impossible. After a few weeks of seeing China's millions at work, and how they work, you are not so sure. The other impression you get, and this can be overpowering too, is that of how far they have to go. It's a land where you find the most modern, side by side with the most primitive conditions of life and work, where jet aircraft fly over peasant homes that look exactly as they did a thousand years ago, except that there's a radio in the corner and a picture of Mao Tse-tung on the wall. You may see steelworkers move from bamboo huts today into a modern brick apartment house tomorrow. You may look at a tremendous new blast-furnace and a few yards away a sweating team of coolies carry pipe and cement as they always have, by muscle-power. These contrasts and they are spectacular, dramatize the attempt to compress a millenium of progress into one generation.

Other Canadians have reported remarkable developments in China, not only in industry and agriculture, but in science and education and a flourishing theatre. I say little of those achievements, impressive though they may be, because there are other points I venture to make today. I have one distinct and startling impression I cannot fail to mention. For me this was quite unexpected. In 1934, little more than a decade after the end of the revolutionary wars in Russia, I spent several weeks in Moscow and Leningrad. In 1958 I spent four weeks in China. To me it seems inescapable; in their first decade, the Chinese communists have made far more progress and had far more success that the Russians did in their first decade. Not only that; as of today the Chinese programme, both in its planning and in its workmanship, is proceeding more swiftly and efficiently and smoothly than anything I observed in Russia, except perhaps the Moscow subway trains, which are very good. Chinese success has many reasons. One of them is this; a highly intelligent and perceptive people are profiting by their keen study of Russian mistakes. If I were a Russian engineer at work in China today, I would often be embarrassed. If you'll pardon the expression, my face would be red. Chinese transportation, hotel service and the whole field of retail trade are superior. And so, it seems, are Chinese construction and workmanship. Speaking of trade, one sees foreign products, foreign cars, for example. I would be embarrassed too by the furious Chinese campaign against what they call the "evil of bureaucratism", and their determination to avoid the mistake of trying to re-build a nation from behind an office desk. I would be puzzled by Chinese successes, particularly in agriculture, where the U.S.S.R. has had so many failures. And if I were a Russian I would certainly be impressed by the Chinese genius for absorbing their opponents and putting them to work, converting sinners into pillars of the faith.

Wherever you go in China you meet people you would expect to be counter-revolutionaries. Instead of being liquidated they have been enlisted, in well-paid jobs, and they are enthusiastic, or even boastful, about the progress of the new China. They may not be communists but they are true nationalists, with a strong sense of national pride. They show nothing but contempt for Chiang Kai-shek, and they speak of him as an American pensioner. There is not one Chinese Revolution; there are many. The Chinese family and the whole structure of society have changed almost beyond recognition since my boyhood. There are new social and moral standards, with honesty, self-discipline, and stern Puritanism. Women have equality with men, in high office, in business and the professions, on the land and in coolie labour. Incidentally, those women have almost doubled China's labour power.

When I was born, a Chinese scholar or gentleman, with his long fingernails and an elaborate code of dignity and good manners, would never soil his hands in manly sport or manual labour, not even in a garden. Today physical fitness has become a cult. Outdoor games and P.T. periods are practised with religious fervour. Mao Tse-tung himself is said to have swum across the Yangtze River twice, to prove something, I'm not quite sure what. Tough physical labour is glorified and somewhat idealized now. Men with important jobs are pulled out from behind those desks and made to conquer the temptations of bureaucratism by a week or a month of hard work as harvest hands or dam-builders. Speaking of scholarship, which still rates very high in the Chinese scale of values, it was not long ago that the literary man had a monopoly in education, and even in the administration of the old Chinese Empire. Today the man of letters is being displaced in prestige and importance by the man of science or of applied science; the poet is yielding to the engineer. This autumn in primary schools Chinese children began to learn a new written language with a Roman alphabet and four accents to mark the tones. It's much more simple and efficient, but lacking the beauty and artistry of the ancient ideographs. This is one revolution I never expected to see; for centuries all educated Chinese have been devoted to their calligraphy. It was an art form as well as a written language. I mention only a few examples of the diversity and depth of the upheaval in Chinese life.

Many westerners have marvelled at the stability and cohesiveness of a social system which endured more than three thousand years without any fundamental change. Now we can marvel at its sudden transformation. The old China is receding swiftly into history, to take its place in the archives with the ancient civilizations of Egypt and Greece and Rome. And whether we like it or not, the new China is going to be a great power, a very great power. It will have not only a huge population, richly-endowed with resources spread over an acreage as large as ours. It will be, it is not yet but it will be, a highly-industrialized nation. What all this means to Canada and our own future is something to which we shall be obliged to give some very serious thought. With that in mind, I have a few words to say on Chinese nationalism, both old and new. In my view, it has determined the course of the Chinese Revolution.

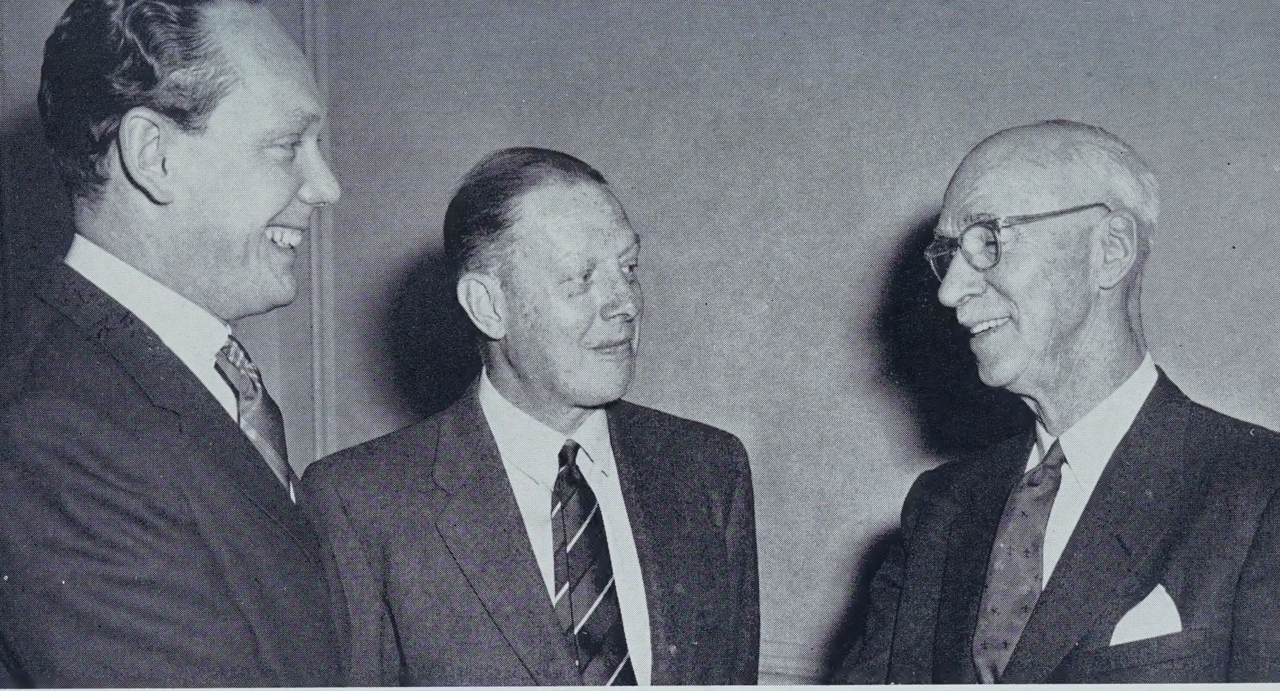
Sometimes we forget that democratic and peaceful change in national life has been the exception rather than the rule. The British people haven't had a revolution since Oliver Cromwell. The British, and their heirs throughout most of the Commonwealth, have slowly learned the difficult and delicate art of accommodating their political system to irresistable social and economic change, and doing it by constitutional means. But the orderly pattern you see in Britain and perhaps in Scandinavia, is exceptional. Most people make their changes by force or the threat of force, and this is so whether you look at South America or North Africa or Central Europe. In south-east Asia there has been a brave attempt to transplant western democracy. But I'm sure you have noticed a trend toward something which is euphemistically called "guided democracy." In Burma, Pakistan and Thailand, as in Sudan a few days ago, the strong men are beginning to take over. It may be regrettable, but we have no right to be surprised. Democracy is not easily transplanted. It is hard to come by. The Chinese have transplanted something else. They call their revolution communist, and party members quote or paraphrase Marx; even more, the writings of Lenin and Mao Tse-tung, and after the first thirty minutes it becomes a little tiresome, like all overdone dogmas. They also tell you that China has an indestructible alliance with the Soviet Union. In fact, they are building a Communist state, with many Chinese variants, refinements and modifications. Private enterprise exists, but not as private enterprise is known in this country. Trade unions exist, but not as trade unionism is understood by workers in Canada. They recognize freedom of speech, freedom of the press and freedom of religion, but not as those terms are accepted here. They have elections at the national, provincial and municipal levels, but not elections such as we have, or usually have. They have several political parties other than the Communist Party, but they are not in opposition; they are all in coalition and their leaders are in the Government. And of course they denounce western imperialism even more fiercely than the Russians do. These are among the reasons the West regards Peking, I think mistakenly, as a branch office of Moscow. We have been led into the mistake by an over-simplification.

Generally we accept the notion that the all-important and basic contest today is the one between western capitalism and eastern communism; in other words, between the systems represented by Washington and Moscow. Much of the thinking and most of the propaganda on both sides would support that easy, clear-cut explanation of a divided world. It's too simple. It over-simplifies the rather complicated planet on which we live. We have been bombarded with so many slogans and epithets and cliches about the Cold War that we sometimes forget certain other factors exist, very real factors which would be important if communism had never been heard of. One of them is religion. Only the other day the coronation of a new pope was followed with intense interest by hundreds of millions of listeners, on every continent. For many people, particularly in Africa and Asia, the religious loyalty is still stronger than any other. Another factor, or problem, because it's a potent force in uniting men and dividing men, is that of racial distinction. With or without communism, it's a distinction with highly explosive potentialities on every continent. When we hear it said that all nations must now take either one side or the other, the communist side or our side, it's well to remember that there are many areas where men refuse to live on the same street or even in the same community with those of a different religion or a different race. We may think they are wrong, but the fact is that for them, these considerations seem to be more important than any other, regardless of what Mr. Dulles or Mr. Eisenhower or Mr. Khruschev or Mr. Nehru have to say about it.

There's another force which was very strong long before communism. It's still at work with enormous vitality. That is the force of nationalism. It has always been underestimated; it is still underestimated. It has had a part in all the great revolutions since 1776 and in the revolts which did not succeed. You could find it here in 1837; in Ireland for generations; in Scottish Home Rule and Welsh Home Rule and sometimes in Quebec, and in the Balkans and India and Burma and the Phillipines and now Cyprus and the Middle East and the whole Arab world, certainly in China. Many of these movements arose independently of Communism; not all the revolts are hatched in the Kremlin. Of course Moscow does like to back the popular choice and it usually pays off better than putting your money on dead horses. I need not mention any names.

There is a habit, at least on this continent, of interpreting every step taken by the Peking Government as another manifestation of communist policy, probably inspired from Moscow. This is a little naive, and entirely overlooks the realities. Take the case of Quemoy, a group of small islands a few thousand yards from the coast of China. These islands and a few others, as you know, are held by the forces of Chiang Kai-shek. On August 23, while I was in Shanghai, Communist shore batteries began a very heavy bombardment of the off-shore islands of which you have been hearing ever since. How was this interpreted? A British member of parliament, who happened to be in Peking a few days later, told me flatly: "These people started it!" Some western spokesmen gave the crisis an almost cosmic significance. They compared it with Munich and spoke with bated breath as though the fate of the whole free world hung in the balance. We were given to understand that unless these little islands were held, even at the cost of a nuclear war, all Asia and perhaps the whole world would fall prostrate in the path of aggressive communism. Apart from those extravagant pronouncements, which have been somewhat toned down since September, it's a fair question: Why did the Chinese Communists open up with their artillery and disturb a more or less peaceful world? I won't give you the answer which Premier Chou En-lai gave me. I won't give you my own answer. Instead I will cite the evidence of two witnesses, the first an American reporter in Formosa writing in praise of Chiang, and the other, one of Chiang Kai-shek's men, in Formosa.

The reporter was Mr. Harold H. Martin, in the *Saturday Evening Post* of September 6, which was printed in August so that Mr. Martin had to write his story before the bombardment began. It therefore has a certain candour which was a little lacking from Formosa after August 23. Mr. Martin said this: "For nearly ten years, with every offensive weapon they could command, the Nationalist Chinese have carried their own small, gnawing war against the Reds who drove them into exile in 1949. From here, we call it Formosa, the Chinese call it Taiwan, planes fly over the mainland on photographic missions, mapping future targets. Jet fighters, made in the U.S.A., challenge the Russian-built MIG's in their own skies. Old American destroyers and patrol boats, turned over to the Nationalist Navy, cruise freely in Red China's waters, fighting small, unpublicized engagements with Red warcraft and sealing off from the outside world all the Communist ports between Shanghai and Canton. On Matsu, which dominates the mouth of the Min River, closing the port of Foochow, and on Quemoy to the south, which bottles up Amoy, the Nationalists have built two tiny Gibraltars. Here, from gunpits dug into solid rock, the Nationalists, firing American howitzers and 155's, fight fierce artillery duels. Nationalist frogmen, based on the offshore islands, swim in by night to map Communist shore defences. Small guerilla forces stage hit-and-run raids along the China coast, taking a prisoner now and then and blowing up ammunition dumps. Chiang's spies on the mainland feed



Presentation to Mr. Comber and Mr. Miles, December 3rd, 1958. *From Left to Right:*
Lt.-Col. B. J. Legge; Walter Comber; Ernest Miles.

Christmas Meeting, December 17th, 1958. *From Left to Right:*
J. B. McGeachy; Miss Teresa Stratas.

coded intelligence information by short-wave radio to Nationalist listening posts." And so on, and so on. That was written before August 23, and that, gentlemen, was the peaceful summer scene along the Chinese coast, so rudely disturbed by the bombardment which began on August 23.

My other quotation is from the official yearbook of the Chiang regime, published on Formosa, for 1957-58. At page 165 it says: "The islands off the south China coast, such as Quemoy, Matsu and Wuchiu are strategically important because they will serve as springboards for the Chinese armed forces in the coming counter-attack on the mainland." Now, after all this was so clearly explained by an American reporter and by an official publication on Formosa, is there any mystery about that bombardment? Perhaps Peking ought to have taken a complaint of aggression to the United Nations but this would have been a little difficult to arrange, because after nine years the United Nations, in its wisdom, does not recognize Peking as the government of six hundred million people, although it does recognize the Chiang government-in-exile. It's not necessary to quote Marx, or Lenin or Stalin or to theorize in a grandiose way about the ultimate aims of communism in order to understand the Quemoy crisis. The case is simple. China is becoming a great power and in no mood to accept harassment of its coastline from Formosa or any other source.

There is more to this than national pride. When any nation becomes strong, particularly after a revolution, it soon develops a sense of its historic role, the generals and the admirals acquire expanding horizons so that it takes a new and wider view of national security and it prepares to resist all interference in its own sphere of influence. For example in 1823, 135 years ago, the United States, after a successful revolution, had become the strongest power in the western hemisphere, and assumed the leadership of this hemisphere. In that year, President James Monroe announced a policy which became known as "the Monroe doctrine" and which is still American policy. Monroe stated two principles in these words: "(1) The American continents, by the free and independent conditions which they have assumed and maintained are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers; (2) We should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." The attitude expressed in the words of James Monroe, is exactly the attitude which will be taken by a powerful China in the Far East. The Peking Government has already demanded that the United States withdraw from the western Pacific. Of this you will hear a great deal more in future. It is not new, and it's not unusual for a great power to take that attitude, and it's not necessarily an expression of communism. In fact, it has been the demand of all Chinese nationalists for a hundred years, all except those now being propped up by foreign arms on Formosa.

I am old enough to remember when Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang were clamouring for the withdrawal of western gunboats and western troops and western special privileges in all the treaty ports along the coast and the Yangtze River; and Chiang too, like Sun Yat-sen and all the others, talked loudly about driving the western imperialists out of the East and back where they came from. Those who speak today as though all this were a recent communist development know not whereof they speak. In the west most people have forgotten the long record of western intervention in China; the Chinese have not forgotten. My own earliest memory, my very earliest memory, is that of being escorted from Chungking down the Yangtze River by a British gunboat, and my father lifting me up in the morning to see the British flag go by. That was in 1911, just before the fall of the Manchu dynasty. There are no foreign gunboats on the Yangtze River today, but there were many of them then, American, German, French, Japanese, as well as British. The story behind those gunboats will tell you a good deal about the Chinese Revolution and the direction it has taken.

Chinese civilization was born in the valleys of the Yangtze and the Yellow River, and there it flourished for several thousand years, isolated from the western culture which had its birthplace in the Mediterranean area. Buddhism came over from India, a few Jesuits from Italy after Marco Polo and a few traders to Canton by ship, but until recent times there was very little contact between East and West. The wild men who rode down from the north to found the Mongol and the Manchu dynasties were digested and almost absorbed by a superior civilization; they made no fundamental change. But in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the expanding economies of the west, and how they expanded!, rolled out to the east. At long last, they met: the high-pressure area and the low-pressure area and in that meeting was made the tempest which is now rising to full strength. The immense glacial inertia of Asia has been destroyed forever, and more than a million people are on the move, believing for the first time that it is actually possible to improve their lot in life. It's a revolutionary idea, a product of the West, and today all Asia bears witness to the power of that idea.

The rulers of imperial China correctly saw the West as a threat to their way of life. They stubbornly resisted all intrusion, and all change. In their efforts to keep out the subversive influence of foreign traders, foreign missionaries, foreign diplomats, they went to war in 1839 and 1856 and 1895, and they even encouraged the Boxer uprising of 1900. In all these wars they suffered crushing defeat; their ancient culture could not match the gunpower of the West, or of Japan. By the unequal treaties, they were obliged to accept missionaries, envoys and traders. They lost control over their main ports, their customs duties, their post office; all to be administered by foreigners. Gunboats patrolled their rivers; foreign citizens were not subject to Chinese law. They lost Vladivostock to Russia, Hong Kong and Weihaiwei to the British, part of Indo-China to France, Formosa to Japan, Tsingtao and the Kiaochow peninsula to Germany and then Japan, Manchuria to Russia and then Japan. They even lost their shadowy sovereignty over Burma, annexed by Britain; and Korea, seized by Japan. It was absolutely inevitable that the humiliation and robbery of the Chinese people would give rise to intense nationalism and movements for national regeneration. This, above all else, has been the paramount concern of Chinese patriots for more than a century.

The old mandarins could learn nothing and forget nothing, but by 1898 the reformers and the modernists had gained so much influence with a young Emperor that he suddenly issued a series of sweeping decrees intended to transform China. In one of them he said, referring to the establishment of Peking University: "Let all take advantage of the opportunities for the new education . . . so that in time we may have many who will be competent to help us in the stupendous task of putting our country on a level with the strongest of the Western Powers." Those words, the words of the Emperor Kwang Hsu in 1898, long before communism came to China, state precisely a major objective of Mao Tse-tung's Government today. The Emperor failed; his advisers were executed, he was imprisoned, the Empress Dowager and the reactionaries seized power and the Empire drifted to its downfall and chaos. Dr. Sun Yat-sen and a few thousand Chinese leaders who had been educated in the West, tried to impose an imported western democracy on the Chinese people, who had never experienced anything of the kind. They failed: it was not possible to succeed, just as it would be impossible to impose, with any success, an imported communist political system on the people of this continent. Instead of democracy, the Chinese got 38 years of war-lords and civil war and an eight-year war with Japan as well.

When I was a school-boy in Szechwan I saw something of the civil wars; unforgettable. And I knew many students, in the middle-schools and university, very politically-minded students. They were deeply impressed by Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles, Nationalism, Democracy and Livelihood. Many of them were even more impressed by a little book called "Imperialism" by V. I. Lenin, written at Zurich in 1916. It seemed to them to explain everything; all of China's backwardness, chaos and despair were due to imperialist intervention and exploitation. It was that idea which inspired them to build the Chinese Communist party from half-a-dozen members in July, 1921, to what it is today. That idea, and the emancipation of the peasants from landlordism, and the exciting prospect of swift industrialization in a planned economy. Now they point out to me as a historical fact, that in four decades of incessant warfare and indescribable suffering for the masses of their people, only one group emerged with sufficient discipline, integrity, singleness of purpose, military power and popular support to bring order out of chaos. They say that, whether we like it or not, that group was the Chinese Communist party. After the defeat of Japan, Chiang Kai-shek's regime fell apart, his armies melted away and by 1949 he had been driven to Formosa, where he remains to this day. The result is that for the first time in more than a century, China and its people have enjoyed almost a full decade of relative peace, order and good government. Their soldiers fought in Korea and they have fought Chiang's men along the coast, but peace and order throughout an area as large as Canada have released the enormous energies of a people whose capacity for hard work is second to none. Obviously, it's a welcome change after 38 years of warfare, welcome to both communists and non-communists, and it's equally obvious that for this reason, if for no other reason, the Government at Peking commands the solid support of an overwhelming majority. Another welcome change is that after more than a hundred years of humiliation and disaster, the Chinese now feel that their country is strong and successful. Nothing succeeds like success. And unless my eyes deceive me, their standard of living, austere though it is, has risen far in recent years.

What I have said is not in praise of nationalism. On the contrary, anything which tends to divide the world, as nationalism does, is to be deplored. In the long view it is a glorified form of parochialism which must be subordinated one day to the concept of one world, the end of irresponsible national sovereignty and the growth of international co-operation. Extreme nationalism is based on a sense of insecurity. On this side of the Pacific it is said that the Soviet Union and China are seeking to dominate the whole world, that their programme is one of conquest, and, as proof positive our friends point to Soviet tyranny in Eastern Europe, Soviet propaganda, Soviet puppets and Soviet parties engaged in subversive activities all around the world. On the other side of the Pacific you are told, with equal certainty, that the United States seeks to dominate the world and impose its system on all others. And, as proof positive, they point to American naval and air forces ringing the world on bases belonging to other people, American propaganda, and American puppets, like the one on Formosa. These dogmas are held with fanatic intensity on both sides. There has been very little attempt, on either side, to understand the other fellow's point of view or to make any objective analysis of the behaviour which flows from a sense of insecurity. Until the dogmas are placed in the proper perspective, and until the fanatics, on both sides, are over-ruled by realistic and rational men, the prospects for peaceful co-existence are not very encouraging.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Dr. James A. Parish.

"CANADA AND THE COMMONWEALTH"

An Address by

THE HONOURABLE LESTER B. PEARSON,
P.C., M.A., LL.D., M.P.

Thursday, November 27, 1958

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. Bruce Legge.

LT.-COL. LEGGE: Since its formation in 1903, this Club has been addressed by nearly all the men who have been Prime Ministers, Leaders of the Opposition and Secretaries of State for External Affairs. Today we are to hear a speech by the Honourable Lester Bowles Pearson, P.C., O.B.E., M.A., LL.D., M.P., who became world famous as Canada's illustrious Secretary of State for External Affairs and is now the Leader of Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition in the House of Commons.

Mr. Pearson's father was a clergyman and he therefore had the advantage of living in many different parts of Ontario as his father moved to new appointments. While a student, Mr. Pearson enlisted with the University of Toronto Hospital Unit with which he served in Salonika in 1915 and 1916. He was later commissioned in the Canadian Army and subsequently transferred to the Royal Flying Corps.

Following the war Mr. Pearson worked for a short time with a meat packing company in Chicago but he gave up the commercial life to attend St. John's College, Oxford, on a Massey Foundation Fellowship. He obtained a degree and also his cherished Oxford 'blues' for hockey and lacrosse.

In 1923 Mr. Pearson was appointed to the staff of the Department of History in the University of Toronto, and ever since then Universities have maintained a keen interest in our speaker. The list of his honorary degrees reads like a catalogue of the world's great universities—Toronto, Yale, New York, Rochester, McMaster, Syracuse, Ceylon, Maine, Clark, Oxford, Columbia, Laval, Harvard, British Columbia, Manchester and Princeton. In addition he was elected an Honorary Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, in 1946 and was appointed Chancellor of Victoria University in 1951.

In 1928, Mr. Pearson was attracted to the Department of External Affairs and served in Ottawa with Special Missions to Washington, London, The Hague and Geneva. During the days of the Bennett Government he became an expert with Royal Commissions and was made an officer of the British Empire for his special services to the Commissions which investigated Wheat Futures and Price Spreads.

Mr. Pearson's postings in External Affairs were in the main capitals of the English speaking world, London, Washington and Ottawa. In September 1948 the Rt. Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King summoned him to the cabinet as Secretary of State for External Affairs and he was elected a Member of Parliament for the riding of Algoma East, which he has held in four subsequent general elections. In January 1958, Mr. Pearson was chosen for his present role as leader of the Liberal Party and of the Opposition in the House of Commons.

During his years with the Department of External Affairs, Mr. Pearson has led some notable Canadian Delegations: to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference in 1954; to the Commonwealth Meeting in Colombo, Ceylon in 1950; to the Japanese Peace Treaty Conference in San Francisco in 1951 and to the Geneva Conference in 1954.

For his achievements Mr. Pearson was acclaimed by Canada's Allies when he was designated Chairman of the North Atlantic Council in 1951. He was recognized by the countries of the world when he was elected Chairman of the United Nations General Assembly in 1952. He was honoured in 1957 as the recipient of the universally accepted great distinction, The Nobel Peace Prize. Gentlemen, The Honourable Lester Pearson is a leading Canadian politician and a celebrated internationalist who will now speak to The Empire Club of Canada on 'Canada and the Commonwealth'.

MR. PEARSON: The Commonwealth, or the British Commonwealth, of Nations of today is a far cry from the Commonwealth of yesterday; even more from the Empire of the day before yesterday. It is important that we should understand this change; realize the problems and opportunities it presents, and that we should not be confused by words and sentiments that refer to situations which have now passed away. There still is, of course, a British Empire, apart from the Commonwealth, consisting of the United Kingdom and the dependent colonies. But that Empire is now only a small part of the great British imperial system of the beginning of this century which it now fashionable to decry in certain quarters, but which, while it had its faults, in its day did much for preserving peace and promoting progress in the world. With Communists, of course, and with even some types of Socialists, it is obligatory to decry this kind of imperialism as wholly reactionary and bad; to assume that it must soon completely disappear in the world. It is, of course, disappearing as the urge for political freedom by subject peoples expresses itself. It is inevitable that this process should go on, and that nationalism should find expression in political self-government before its limitations are realized. The ideal of national independence must run its course inside and outside the Commonwealth, before the wider political associations which this little nuclear world requires can make much headway. It would be wrong and foolish to try to dam the national urge. But it would do no harm, on the contrary it would have good results, if that urge would accept direction and guidance when this is needed; would show a greater appreciation of the permanence and the inevitability of gradualness.

There is, however, one notable exception in the world today to this process of national growth. It is the destruction of freedom and the absorption of free people into centralized, despotic, anti-national Communist empires. The Communists, at the United Nations and elsewhere, talk loud and long against imperialism. They are, in fact, with their power centres in Moscow and Peking, almost the only imperialists left in the world. As such, they are the greatest present menace to national freedom, and the worst colonial reactionaries. It is ironic, indeed tragic, to realize that some of those who parrot the anti-imperialist words of Moscow at the U.N. are representing there, as Czechs or Rumanians or Ukrainians or, above all, Hungarians, satellite foreign regimes forced on peoples, with a long and glorious tradition of freedom but now as much under outside domination and control as any African tribe which never possessed such freedom and may not be ready for its responsibilities.

The shrinking of the British Empire, the reduction of red on the map of the world, in a sense represents its greatest glory, its greatest achievement. For out of this Empire, those free nations have emerged which make up and enlarge our new Commonwealth. This emergence has taken more than one form and expressed itself in more than one way. Some of the members, Canada Australia, New Zealand, have grown from daughter colonies to independent states, with strong ties of race, sentiment, history and heritage still linking them to the Mother Country, long after they have achieved self-government. They also share a Monarchy, as the symbol of all these links, and as the focus of a common loyalty which emphasizes the continuity of their history and the depth of their roots. Other nations of the Commonwealth, and this we sometimes forget, have an entirely different historical basis for membership in the association. South Africa became a member out of defeat in war. India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Malaya were colonies occupied by the British but with old cultures and civilizations of their own. They learned much from the British, the rule of law, even-handed justice, fair-dealing, administrative and governmental order and methods. Indeed, it was the British, even though it may not have been done consciously, who gave them a sense of national consciousness which, in some cases, they had never possessed before. It was on this basis that their freedom developed. They might or might not appreciate any of these things as nationalism drove them on to independence from Britain. But even if, or when, they did, we should not expect them to have that feeling of kinship with or sentiment for the United Kingdom which we possess; she was a mother country to them, in a very limited sense indeed, if at all, and in a sense which was often resented. At best, she was a kind of foster mother. There is also now a native African member of the Commonwealth; and soon to be another along with a West Indies Federation. Their peoples have never in the past had any national identity, or national story of any kind as we understand it, but have nevertheless now become independent, indigenous native states with only a few white Britishers to recall the previous political connection with Whitehall. All this means that not only has there been a fundamental change from Empire to Commonwealth; there has been an equally important change from old to new Commonwealth. This new Commonwealth which exists today, represents every continent, except South America; every race, clime, religion and culture. Four-fifths of the people who now make it up are Asian. It includes the second most populous country in the world and the second most populous Moslem State. It represents three of the ancient civilizations of mankind —Judeo-Christian, Hindu and Islam. What holds it together? An outsider would find it particulalrly hard to answer that question. There is not even an agreed name, for "British" Commonwealth is not used, for obvious reasons, in those countries in which the vast majority of its peoples live.

I remember that at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference in London in 1949, when a formula was being sought for the admission of a republic into the Commonwealth, the communique announcing success began with a reference to the "British" Commonwealth and ended by a declaration of unity as "free and equal members of the Commonwealth". That confusion was not accidental. It was the British genius for evasion, or compromise, or common-sense, whatever you wish to call it. Neither name satisfied everyone there, so both were used. Nor is the Monarch the same unifying influence throughout that it once was. True, the Monarchy is a cherished bond between certain members and the fact that the Queen, as Monarch, is "Head of the Commonwealth" has its own importance though it is a little unknown to history before 1949 and even now of no legal or constitutional significance. Yet now, inside the Commonwealth, there are four monarchies by choice and conviction; three, who have stated their intention of becoming republics; two members that are republics and one, an elected monarchy, where the local monarch accepts another Monarch in London as Head of the Association. It must seem all very confusing to any logical student of political forms. So Monarchy has not the same meaning inside the Commonwealth that it once had though it still is of deep meaning and cherished value for some of the members, including Canada.

I have already pointed out that history, sentiment and traditions operate in only a very limited way, and not always indeed in favour of closer association, for the majority of the present members of the Commonwealth. It is often said that a common devotion to parliamentary democracy is now the strongest unifying bond inside the Commonwealth, as we face the pressures of totalitarianism. This is undoubtedly of great importance where it applies. But we must not assume that all the principles and practices of parliamentary government, developed in Great Britain slowly and often painfully over the centuries, can be so applied, automatically and successfully, to societies which are newly free but are without our own inherited and tested parliamentary experience.

The form of parliamentary democracy in the old Commonwealth is not necessarily that which will prove the best or the most acceptable for all the other members. India is making a heroic and vitally important effort to make it work among her nearly 400 millions of people; likewise in Ceylon, where serious obstacles remain to be overcome, and in Malaya, the same effort is being made. But Pakistan has now become, temporarily at least, a military dictatorship and some things seem to be going on in Ghana which are hard to reconcile with our own concept of parliamentary democracy. So we are likely to be disillusioned if we expect the Commonwealth to remain the Parliament of Westminster, surrounded by identical daughter parliaments in all the other nations, operating in the same way and all devoted to the same kind of government by free and full parliamentary discussion and decision. Nor is it centralized Commonwealth institutions or machinery that hold us together. We have none, or practically none. In earlier years there was an effort made to develop such but it failed. I think that failure meant success, because an association of the kind that developed out of the old Commonwealth would not have been possible if there had been central control or too much central organization. Nor indeed has this been necessary to ensure close and continuous consultation within the Commonwealth in the search for co-operation and agreement. From 1945 to 1958, and including the Commonwealth Conference in Montreal, there have been far more ministerial and prime ministerial meetings than in the period 1926 to 1939. There has also been more Commonwealth mutual assistance, both of the kind represented by Canada's dollar help, two billion's worth, to the U.K. after World War II and by that given later through the Colombo Plan to the less materially developed nations. Is it trade and commercial advantage that keeps us together? True, the preferential tariff system played an important part to this end in the twenties and thirties, but it has been much less important, at least so far as Canada is concerned, since the Second World War. Currency and import controls and quotas in the sterling area made tariff preferences of much less value to us as a dollar country. It has been a major objective of Canadian foreign policy in the last thirteen years to get these obstacles to greater Commonwealth trade out of the way, and to restore full convertibility between dollar and pound. I believe that it is also equally important to seize every other opportunity to promote freer trade within the Commonwealth, though this can never be done to Canada's advantage on an exclusively Commonwealth basis. The facts and figures of our trading position are sufficient reason why this is so.

What about mtual defence? Has that been a unifying force? In the past, when Imperial defence as such was an accepted requirement and neutrality within the monarch's domain was legally and politically unthinkable, defence obligations and the common sacrifices that they entailed, service together as soldiers of the King, all these served to keep all British subjects united in loyalty and sentiment. That situation has also drastically changed inside the new Commonwealth. There is no possible way, for instance, in present circumstances by which Ghana and South Africa, Pakistan and New Zealand could be prevailed on to accept special obligations for mutual defence. The fact is that there are now no such obligations, and that the special and formal commitments that Canada accepted in NATO to come to the assistance of say, Turkey if that country were attacked does not apply to New Zealand. They do, of course, apply to the U.K., not because she is a member of the Commonwealth but because she is a member of NATO. This may seem strange but it is a perfectly realistic and honest reflection of the present international situation. The protection of the national security interests of the North Atlantic powers, and the strengthening of peace, made it desirable to accept collective commitments of the NATO kind which entail specific obligations for action in certain circumstances. The same interests do not admit the acceptance of these collectively by all members of the Commonwealth. It would, for instance, be obviously quite unrealistic to expect India and South Africa to undertake any such commitments vis-a-vis each other, merely because they are both members of the Commonwealth. The reason why this is unrealistic is simply that members of the Commonwealth are not all in agreement over foreign and defence policies. Indeed some are in strong disagreement with each other. Certain issues between them are, in fact, so bitterly contested that it is not at the moment possible even to discuss them at Commonwealth meetings as formal items of an agenda. I am thinking, for instance, of the racial dispute between South Africa, on the one hand,

and India and Pakistan on the other. Or the dispute between India and Pakistan over Kashmir. In the varying circumstances of the member states, with their different national interests, it cannot be expected that their foreign policies would normally be the same, except in the desire to secure the same broad objectives of peace and international security. As an example, take the situation today in Berlin. The United Kingdom has definite treaty rights and responsibilities there. She must protect these and I, for one, think that any attempt to eliminate them, contrary to international agreement, by the USSR acting through its East German communist satellites, should be met with unity and firmness on the part of the Western coalition as a whole. I also believe, however, that before any step is taken to this end by any one or all of the three members of NATO who have these treaty rights in Berlin, all the other members of the Atlantic alliance should be fully consulted through the NATO council. It is idle to expect, however, that other members of the Commonwealth such as India, Pakistan or Ghana or Malaya or Ceylon would adopt, or even support, any such policy of collective resistance to efforts to overthrow the existing regime in Berlin by forceful methods. There is not likely to be any Commonwealth unity in this matter any more than there is on the policy to be adopted toward the USSR generally.

What then is the value of the Commonwealth? What does hold it together even in its present loose form? The answer to that first question is found, in part, in the very differences and disputes which occur between its members and two of which I have mentioned. The Indian and South African governments, or the Pakistan and Indian governments may say hard things about each other in public. But they can meet, in London, at the UN or in Colombo, around the Commonwealth conference table or at a Commonwealth dinner and talk in a friendly and informal way to each other, even about matters which cannot be formally put on any Commonwealth agenda. In spite of some factors, and because of others, this global association consists of members who always at least try to agree; who have acquired the custom and convention of discussing together problems of mutual concern, and who, when they do disagree, do their very best to avoid bitterness and recrimination. The group has also shown a capacity for dealing with practical situations as they arise and for adapting itself to changing circumstances. These changing circumstances, associated with the emergence of free Asian countries, which is something of the greatest potential importance to the world, give the Commonwealth a new and great opportunity. It can act as a bridge between Asia and Africa and the West. The new Commonwealth ideal, moreover, is one of helpful and practical co-operation between nations of varied races and cultures, and in varying stages of economic and industrial development. That co-operation is shown, among other things, in the Colombo plan. Its continued success will be of the most far-reaching importance; not only to the Commonwealth but to the whole world. In the Commonwealth we members who are materially favoured, can give our Asian and African partners technical and capital assistance. We can do more. We can give them sympathy and understanding and support in their new national hopes and aspirations. In doing so, the Commonwealth can give an example to the world.

A somewhat cynical observer once wrote: "The Commonwealth appears . . . to be no more than an alumni association . . . whose independent-spirited, self-willed members, presided over by their former headmaster, recognize no other obligations toward one another than may be prompted by the heart or by considerations of enlightened self-interest." While we may concede some truth to this analysis, it passes over too casually this pull of sentiment and custom, or enlightened self-interest, which does draw us together. Shakespeare put the Commonwealth case better when he wrote: "Those friends thou hast, and their adoption tried, grapple them to thy soul with hoops of steel." The Commonwealth has adjusted itself pragmatically and gracefully to a long series of changing circumstances. And the end is not yet. It would be folly to become complacent about what has been done or to assume that this beneficent progress must continue. There is no certainty that it will. It would also be foolish to try to obscure the new problems in front of us by a golden haze of patriotic oratory. There are undoubtedly difficulties and there may be dangers ahead for the Commonwealth Family Association. But there are also opportunities for even greater service to its members and to the world, in the future than in the past. It should be, as indeed I think it is, an important objective of Canada's policy to help avoid these dangers and realize to the full these opportunities. It should be a privilege for Canada to work for the maintenance and the strengthening of the British Commonwealth of Nations as a strong force for peace, security and progress in the world.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Marvin Gelber.

“WIDE, WIDE WORLD”

An Address by

RABBI MAURICE N. EISENDRATH
President, Union of American Hebrew Congregations

Thursday, December 4, 1958

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. Bruce Legge.

LT.-COL. LEGGE: Today we welcome as our speaker Rabbi Maurice Eisendrath, D.D., LL.D., an orator with a sparkling reputation for wit and learning, courage and service. Dr. Eisendrath was born in Chicago, attended the University of Cincinnati and became a Rabbi at the Hebrew Union College in 1926. Following his ordination he served in such vividly contrasting cities as Charleston, West Virginia, Toronto and New York. In Canada he was one of the founders of the Conference of Christians and Jews and of the long-lived radio program ‘Forum of the Air’. In New York he is the renowned President of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations; and as a prominent spokesman for Reform Judaism he is active in many spheres of American and Jewish life. In addition, Dr. Eisendrath is a famous religious writer and the well-known author of ‘The Never-Failing Stream’. Because of his leadership in public affairs he has been a representative to some of the great councils of the world, the Paris Peace Conference, and the Charter Conference of the United Nations at San Francisco.

It is, therefore, not surprising that on the twenty-third of February 1956, the members of The Empire Club of Canada heard one of the most literate, most logical, most articulate and most moving speeches of its long history. That address was given by Dr. Eisendrath as a special plea for the brotherhood of nation with nation, race with race, creed with creed, and man with his brother-man. In an uncommonly remarkable way that discourse was indicative of Rabbi Eisendrath himself, because he is a great religious leader who has made joint cause with other religious leaders. He is an American who lived for many years in Canada and has travelled widely over the face of the world. He is a humanitarian who is as distressed by the problem of racial intolerance in his own country as by apartheid in the Union of South Africa. He is an internationalist who is troubled by the agonizing fact that most humans on earth are hungry 'most of the time', and helplessly and hopelessly sink in the quagmire of destitution, suffering and premature death, while in North America billions of dollars are squandered with the nonchalance of pennies in an arcade.

Such was the essence our speaker's judgment made in all humility in 1956. Now that he has completed another world tour we await with eagerness Dr. Eisendrath's second address to The Empire Club of Canada on the expansive subject, the 'Wide, Wide World'.

RABBI EISENDRATH: Although great numbers of us, who have been speeding "Around the World in Eighty Days", with David Niven and Cantinflas, are getting the idea that this is too compact a world for comfort; that its boundaries have been so shrivelled to nothingness by the swift-flying aeroplane's rape of time and annihilation of space; that there is so little elbow room left that we must go rocketing off to the moon, despite all this cutting of our universe down to size, my own recent flight round the globe, fast-fleeting though it was, convinced me that this is indeed a wide, wide world. Though I am well aware of the scientific fact that ours is but one, mayhap the smallest of the billions of stars and suns and satellites that spin so dizzily through space; yet when one flies in a single direction, speeding some several hundred miles an hour, hour after hour after hour, as one traverses, for example, the vast spaceless seas from San Francisco to Honolulu to Wake Island to Tokyo, to Auckland, New Zealand, to

Calcutta, India, one knows assuredly that, geographically at least, this is still a wide, wide world indeed.

That's the first fact that it is good for us Americans, inhabitants of the United States and Canada, sometimes so provincial in our outlook, to recognize. I know people living not too far from my home in New York City who believe that this world is so narrow that it ends at the Hudson River. When I lived here in Toronto there were so many who felt that they had come to the end of all civilization when they reached the borders of Ontario. There are others who are convinced that nothing of any worth whatsoever can possibly exist beyond the Rockies and, surely, not a single centimetre further than the Pacific. "From sea to shining sea" is their world, and a good world admittedly it is, this new world of ours; no one realizes the reality of that chant, "America the Beautiful," no one breathes the prayer "God Bless America" with more sincerity and conviction than one who returns, as I recently did, from a long absence from these cherished shores. But beautiful, precious though this North American continent of ours indubitably is, it is not the world, it is not the whole of this wide, wide world which lies beyond: a world of natural beauty which matches even our majestic mountains, our deep shadowed forests, our lovely streams. No sight is more thrilling than to zoom past the stately, perfect cone of Fujiyama, its snow-capped summit scratching the skies as one skids to a sudden stop at Tokyo airport; or to be piloted so skilfully through that narrow pass between Hong Kong's towering hills; to breathe in the sweet fragrance of the almond blossoms of Kashmir in the spring; to weep over the perfect symmetry of the Taj Mahal.

This is a wide, wide world not alone in space; not alone in beauty and awesome wonder. It is likewise so in time. How proudly we in the United States looked back just a week ago today, on our Thanksgiving Day, to the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth Rock in 1620; just a bit over three centuries ago. And most of you gathered here today will soon be celebrating a great event which traces your spiritual ancestry back 1900 years to the birth of Jesus, while my own people begin a festival on Sunday next which marks the victory of the Macabees over Syrian tyranny some two centuries earlier. We do have an ancient lineage, indeed.

Yet, as we wandered through those mud villages of India, we were somewhat squeamishly stunned by the sight and stench of their dung-covered huts, as we saw their inhabitants still labourously scraping the stubborn soil with their crude wooden plows, drawing their water by means of oxen or by men pulling tediously at their heavy ropes beneath the blistering sun, winnowing their grain in the breeze as Ruth and Naomi did in Biblical times. Still, primitive and benighted though all this seemed, we could not escape the memory that someplace around there, ten thousand years before the day that we were walking through that very village with those eager-eyed men who, under the community development plan, are awakening India to twentieth century progress; ten thousand years ago, before India was stunned into its long slumber by our own Western plunder and pillage, somewhere in this same area, some ten thousand years ago, certain of these same kinds of villagers built famous cities, the remnants and ruins of which yet remain as vivid reminders of their erstwhile beauty and grandeur; they invented algebra, learned astronomy, wrote poetry, discovered how to smelt metals including iron. They evolved the Sanskrit language, still one of the richest known to man. They came to the very verge of knowing calculus and they got spiders to spinning silk, envied even today by men who can convert lime and air and coal into the sheerest of synthetic fabrics.

Yes, in India, in Malaya, in Thailand, in Vietnam, in Burma, we were reminded of and humbled again and again by this antiquity of so much of the world's wisdom and culture which demonstrated that the world is much wider than our alleged Western monopoly on all scientific progress. Just a little over a year ago all of us were shocked, or have we already forgotten that event, by sputnik which the Soviets beat us in putting into space. How superior in mind, in scientific advance we had presumptuously believed ourselves to be! 'Twas a narrow world, this world of Western intellectual supremacy. But when one wanders through some Eastern village and finds little children poring over their books, sometimes, ofttimes, sweeping out from Communist China in floods of periodicals and paperbacks, poring over these volumes by the flickering light of their oil tapers (while so many of our own youngsters are glued to their television screens); as one contrasted some of our own all-too-poorly prepared representatives with the oriental scholars despatched from other lands, one was not too surprised by the speed with which Communist influence is spreading throughout the Far East, an influence which will not be stayed by guns or bombs but only by recognizing that this is indeed a wide, wide world, not alone geographically and chronologically, but culturally as well; and that the challenge of such a world cannot be met by religious or intellectual imperialism any more than it can any longer be held by military conquest.

'Tis a wide, wide world geographically, religiously, culturally. And racially, too. Now I hope that when I mention that so-called dirty word "race," certain persons in certain parts of this continent will not be subject to rapidly rising blood pressure or that some 'listening in' on the radio will not twist the dial and tune me out. For even if they do, they cannot tune out the truth that this is indeed a much wider world than our circumscribed, bigoted, white supremacists would like to make it. Only one who has spent the good part of six months traversing tens of thousands of miles of the earth's surface, and who has seen in the swarming streets of Japan and Formosa and Hong Kong and throughout the countryside of land after land, vast multitudes of men and women and children of darker hue; who has walked the streets of Nepal into which fewer white men had entered up until a few years ago than have been to the South Pole; who has experienced the strange sensation of having one's lighter skin gaped at as a curiosity; only such a one realizes, as never before, that one is not really the lord and master of creation but is rather part of a comparatively infinitesimal minority of the peoples of the earth; that this is a wide, wide world racially, in very truth.

One learns also that the fact that these colored multitudes have a bit more of that substance known as melanin running through their veins is no reason to believe that they constitute inferior breeds, heathen beyond the law. When standing on the rusting ruins of the once proud battleship *Arizona* in Pearl Harbour, beneath the deck of which some eleven hundred bodies still lie buried; one realizes there that a people supposedly so inferior, a people who but half a century earlier were in the thrall of darkest feudalism were yet able to execute that sneak attack which all but wiped out the United States Navy just seventeen years ago this coming Sunday. A "Day of Infamy" yes, but a day that ought to have shattered forever our 'simon pure' white arrogance and when one travels from Pearl Harbour to Singapore and along the Burma road, one comes swiftly to the conclusion that, even at our own game of technical skill and military might, which converted the innocent fire crackers of the Chinese into the ultimate weapon of the atomic bomb; even at this game the world is much wider than the so-called scientifically superior white race. When will we grow up and become mature enough, or dare I say, religiously sincere enough to acknowledge that there are no superior or inferior races, intellectually, scientifically or spiritually either. Yes, 'tis a wide, wide world "in spirit and in truth" likewise.

Near Benares in India I strolled through the quiet gardens at Sarnath. There I rummaged through the ruins of an age when most of our ancestors in the Western world were just beginning to crawl out of the mud and the muck and were still bashing each other with clubs. Way out there in the so-called pagan and backward East, Buddha was then preaching this gospel: "Not by hatred is hatred quenched. This is an eternal law. Let us overcome hatred by love, deceit by truth, evil by good, greed by liberality. Go unto all lands," Buddha urged upon his disciples, "and preach this gospel: That the poor and the lowly, the rich and the high are all one, and that all castes unite in this religion as do the rivers in the sea." Like a fresh wind the teachings of Buddha spread throughout India and most of the lands of the Orient. And, as with Christianity, with Judaism, with the teaching of most great faiths, the pure and lofty ethical preachment of

Buddha became lost amid a multitude of temple rites, rowing and scraping and burning of incense, banging of gongs and clapping of hands to awaken the slumbering gods in golden temples festooned with costly embellishments while at their gates lepers with rotting limbs and ulcerous skins, children with burning, consumptive eyes begged piteously for a crust, nay even a crumb of bread. Nevertheless, as H. G. Wells once wrote of one of Buddha's most dedicated followers, Asoka, "More living men cherish his memory today than have ever heard the names of Constantine or Charlemagne" or Moses or Jesus, we might add, as meandering through this wide, wide world makes us realize that even our Judeo-Christian civilization is comparatively unknown among the billions of peoples who inhabit the far places of the earth.

While missionaries of Christendom have spent millions of dollars and expended myriads of men, and women too, to convert "the heathen," they have won, as I was told in Japan, fewer adherents than there are prostitutes in Tokyo, while in forty brief years the Communists have won more comrades to Marx than there are followers of Jesus in all of Christendom. And for good reasons too, for first of all, these so-called heathen are appalled and perplexed by the variety of vying denominations and dogmas and sects, and more serious still, they are repelled by the patent disparity between our preachment and practice. For what kind of faith is this which some of us in the West would bear to the East? The kind of faith which preaches brotherhood and practices exclusion? The kind of faith which proclaims the fatherhood of God and the all-inclusive brotherhood of all the children of men and then, as in my country at least, calls out the militia, closes the schools, or has the police on twenty-four hour guard around some 'lily-white' neighborhoood of the North in order to prevent someone whom God's good sun has fashioned of darker hue from living beside or being seated next to some of us or our paler faced children? The kind of faith which finds some, even in high places, if not fiddling while Rome burns then at least disporting themselves in a host of extraneous pursuits and piously pontificating upon the need to move, not "with all deliberate speed", but with snail-like caution toward the fulfillment of that gospel in which supposedly there were to be neither black nor white, Christian or Jew, slave nor free. And lest some Canadians feel smugly free of such taint, remember that not many years ago when the United Nations was considering a resolution to explore the heinous sin of apartheid in South Africa, though the Soviet Union voted in favour, your government, together with the United Kingdom, voted no. The United States with similar lack of courage and consistency abstained. Imagine Moses, lolling in the garden of Pharoah and beholding the bestial Egyptian taskmaster brutally beating a Hebrew slave and saying: "You're wrong, O God, in urging me to free these serfs. Emancipation must come slowly, oh so very slowly." Christians, too, as they approach their Christmas season, imagine Jesus, standing beside some grief-stricken Negro mother as she tries to console her little child who has just been stoned or spat upon, saying to her: "Never mind; such things take time to overcome, even though you and your sensitive child may never in all your lives taste the exhilirating joy of full freedom and equality."

We are failing to convert the so-called "heathen without the law" also because, though we lustily and unctuously chant, "come all ye faithful" or inscribe over the portals of synagogues "my house shall be a house of prayer for all peoples", we bolt and bar and barricade our borders against our brethren from afar. Canada, like the United States has become great because the multitudes of huddled masses did swarm here, each 'bearing a prayer and a gift', the gift of their brains; a Steinmetz and an Einstein; a Banting and a Laurier; the gift of their brawn as myriads of immigrant labourers tunneled beneath our mountains to bring forth its precious ores, as they bridged its rivers to conquer the prairies, as they plowed its fields to harvest its abundance of grains, as they felled its forests to rear great and flourishing cities. But now that these gift-bearers from afar have helped so indispensably to make America great, we have posted our "no entry" signs upon the gateways to our lands; yours as well as my own. We have barred and bolted and barricaded our doors against all but the slightest trickle of those who are still tempest-torn and yearning to be free.

Likewise, we once poured forth of our abundance in selfless sharing with the destitute of the world, obedient to the behest of God to "love one another" and to demonstrate our love by generously giving of our superabundance to those who are bereft of all substance. Today, while there are still those who courageously insist, in the Halls of Congress and in the Houses of Parliament, that we must continue to help allay the gnawing hunger of others, still, there are too many who challenge all this "foreign-aid" and who would vigilantly guard the rotting crops in our granaries regardless of the needs of others. "Such sharing boosts our taxes," they complain. If only I could take them with me, in imagination at least, as I but recently did in reality, through the stinking streets of Hong Kong, the fetid slums of Calcutta, which Prime Minister Nehru himself confessed personally to me are a 'horror', as a horror they indubitably are. If I could take each one of you to the back alleys and narrow lanes of Benares and Bombay and there behold the multitudes living, or rather, barely existing, in their miserable hovels and huts, their pathetic lean-tos, their tepees of trash, constructed of discarded CARE canned milk cartons; of rusting, abandoned car license plates and gasoline tins; their women and children scavenging amid the garbage heaps for a few crumbs of mouldy bread or scraps of decomposed vegetables to keep themselves and their loved ones from grisly, gruesome death upon the streets and sidewalks which they inhabit by day and by night. Perhaps if all of us could experience such desperate naked tragedy we would ourselves march to those bursting granaries and storage plants of ours where millions of tons of wheat and pounds of butter accumulate while multitudes of our fellow men starve, just because some of us regard this continent and all it contains as our own to have and to hold for ourselves alone, just because, though we profess the Jewish or the Christian faith, we are not prepared consistently to carry out the consequence of its fundamental preachment that "the earth is the Lord's and the fullness there-of." We ought to march to such places of superfluous accumulation and plead that they be opened up, as our Bible further enjoins, for the needy and the poor wherever they may chance to abide. I assure you that, if this we did and even if our taxes were increased, we would still, most of us, be enjoying the luxury of our selfsame motor cars, television and radio sets our three, or in some instances, more meals a day while others, the majority of the peoples of the earth, subsist on at most two or three meals a week, while some even keep themselves from starvation by consuming but a lentil or two a day.

Most of all we are failing to persuade the East of our moral and spiritual supremacy because of our stubborn, persistent faith in "IT." When I was in Japan but a few months ago, almost daily I would read of the death, now almost a decade and a half after we had dropped the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima, of one or another of its innocent victims who had lingered on in agony throughout the anguished days and nights that have intervened. One day, it would be a middle aged mother who leaped in front of a speeding subway train in the underground tunnels of Tokyo, a mother who had bravely battled what had at first been diagnosed as a minor stomach ailment, but who lost her courage to carry on any longer when she learned that she had been hopelessly poisoned by the lingering radiation from the bomb and was destined to a harrowing, pain-wracked end. Another day, it was a humble fisherman whose passing the Japanese Press noted was likewise due to the consequences of "IT," and thus, during almost my entire stay of more than two weeks in Japan, I read virtually each day of one after another of these men and women and boys and girls who were suffering and dying as a result of "IT," the first atomic bomb dropped in all history.

No wonder, then, that the vast hordes of Southeast Asia and Africa and elsewhere, who know of the devastating peril of atomic explosion and radiation, are eager that we and Russia and other more "advanced" countries stop nuclear testing forever. There are no secrets in this inextricably intertwined world of ours and so the Japanese and the uncommitted Chinese and Indians, the people whom we are seeking to win by our appeal to moral values, in contradistinction to the pagan and heathen and godless Reds in Russia or China, read of the reaction of some of our Western leaders to the truly damning report recently rendered by the United Nations, revealing the undisputed contamination resulting from nuclear tests. Quite blandly and, in my judgment, and the judgment of those multitudes of uncommitted men and women throughout the non-white world, quite unconscionably some of our leaders opined that "after all, that's life, one always has to pay for certain advantages with certain disadvantages." What advantages? The advantage of blowing our universe to splinters? What disadvantages? The petty, superficial disadvantages of sterilizing and paralyzing and deforming countless generations of the as yet unborn? Or shall we, with the seeming equanimity of some of our official commissions and commisioners, dismiss all this agitation against "the bomb" by insisting, as they did, that any damage from strontium 90 fallout will be "extremely small and might at worst shorten certain lives by a few days." Where does any human agency, even when wrapped in the red star or the Star Spangled Banner, or the Maple Leaf or the Union Jack, get the right thus to play God and abbreviate the life of any single soul, whether it be a few days stolen from the humble life of some fisherman of Japan, a junk-driver in Hong Kong, or of yourself or myself who might covet those precious days or even hours with our loved ones? Who gives us the right even under our present, antiquated international law, which scrupulously observes the three or four mile limit, or has it now become the twelve mile limit? with regard to fishing rights, with regard to the precise millimetre beyond which one dare not catch a single wiggling fish, but which presumably allows us, archaically and satanically to pollute the waters in which those selfsame fish swim for hundreds of miles beyond those limits? Who gave us this supreme power of life or death not only over our contemporaries but over our children's children for generations yet to be? And when we do react in protest; when our leaders do finally resolve to sit down and confer, as within the past weeks they have done, it is usually because someone else has challenged or shamed us into doing so, or out of quavering fear of death-dealing retaliation, not out of moral revulsion. What's happened to our ethical antennae these days, to our moral sensivity? Once upon a time we prayed, "Create in us a clean heart, oh God." Today we pray and plod and rationalize our failure promptly to end our tests, because we are seeking a "clean" bomb! Thus do we transvaluate all values, translating the common speech of men into the vocabulary of madmen, calling "clean" a mechanism which, in a split second, can incinerate millions and transform God's handiwork, "all created equal," into cinders all cremated equal.

Thus, while I found men everywhere fixing their gaze hopefully on the summit at Geneva; while the hope for finding some solution there was voiced in conversations and conferences I had throughout the Far East with men great and small: with Prince Mikasa, brother of the Emperor of Japan, with Generalissimo Chiang Kai Shek, with the Prime Minister of Australia, Mr. Menzies, and the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, as well as with myriads of the humble people of the many lands I visited; a speed-crazed taxi driver in Tokyo, a Confucian student in Formosa, a brilliant Swami Hindu in New Delhi, a Maori Indian guide in Rotorua, New Zealand, a houseboat owner in Kashmir, a village chief in one of those tiny mud villages of Malaya, while all of them longed for such a summit conference of the statesmen such as is even now in progress, all of them likewise shared my contention, the conviction which carried me on this long trek throughout the world, that ultimately there must be a summit conference of the spiritual seers of mankind where those who share the belief in God's fatherhood and man's brotherhood shall mobilize their millions, even billions of followers to proceed to practice what they preach. For it seems to me that no one really believing that every man is made in God's image; black and yellow and red and brown as well as white, will fail to love enough and labour enough, serve and sacrifice enough, to make it possible for every man to "dwell 'neath his own vine and fig tree, there being none to make him afraid."

That's why I regarded my recent world-wide trek not merely as a pleasure jaunt or a tourist junket but as a high and holy mission; a kind of personal reconnaissance flight; a reconnaissance flight, however, not to reconnoitre the ammunition dumps or atomic stockpiles of the world, but the spiritual resources, the moral reserves, the religious reservoirs of faith that might be mobilized against man's direst scourge, the scourge of injustice and war, whether hot or cold. For it struck me as nothing short of ironic, even blasphemous, that while men of as widely variant view and vision as Eisenhower and Krushchev do nevertheless, meet from time to time at the summit; while merchants and men of finance, sometimes engaged in the most cut-throat competition, nonetheless do gather in annual or biennial conventions to plan for their common good; while scientists sometimes engaged in devising death-dealing weapons nevertheless convene to pool their brains for the peaceful uses of atomic energy; while athletes from countries virtually at war with one another compete in not too unfriendly manner in the Olympic games, yet the heads of religions have not met on a world-wide scale since the World Parliament of Religions in Chicago at the end of the nineteenth century. And I am gratified to report that wherever I went, among saffron-robed Buddhist monks and purple-garbed Shinto priests, among Confucian and Parsee seers, as well as among Christian and Jewish leaders, I found an eager response to this pressing need. The East would welcome such a summit spiritual conference. Will the West extend its hand and heart in time? Someone, it was Kipling wasn't it?, dourly opined that "East is East and West is West and Ne'er the Twain Shall Meet." Well, East meets West and West meets East when the prophets of Israel and Jesus of Nazareth bid their followers to "love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul" and "thy neighbour as thyself" and when the seers and sages of India, from Buddha to Gandhi and the present-day walking saint, Vinobha Bhave, as well as Laotse and Confucius, gently counsel those who would walk in their footsteps, likewise, to love one another.

No, indeed, we have no monopoly, either in the United States or Canada, either in Judaism or Christianity, on the aspirations of the human heart and soul. It was at Darjeeling in India when at dawn one morning we ascended Tiger Hill and gazed out at snow-clad Mount Everest, as the rose-fingered sun dispelled the sable pall of darkness and spread its shafts upon the pure white crest of that highest mountain in the world. It was there and then I recalled that, although everyone in that little village of Darjeeling knows the role which the Indian guide Tenzing played in Hilary's conquest of Everest, it was only the white man who was knighted, while the coloured man received but a civilian medal; an external symbol, no doubt, of the former's alleged supremacy. It was, however, in no wise an accurate appraisal of the respective inner resources of white or coloured, East or West. For when the Westerner from New Zealand was asked how he felt when he reached the summit he characteristically replied: "Darn good." But the Indian Tenzing responded to the same query with the words: "I thought of God and the greatness of his work. I have feeling for climbing to top and making worship more close to Buddha God. Not same feeling like English Sahibs who say they want 'conquer' mountain. I feel more like making pilgrimage." Let us all strive to "make pilgrimage," if not to the topmost mountain peak then at least to the summit of the spirit where, in proper perspective, we may perceive the whole vast, wide, wide world with all its wondrous variety and colour, where we may behold the glory of God and the greatness of His work who "made of one flesh and one blood all the children of earth" and commanded us "to love one another."

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. J. Palmer Kent, Q.C.

"TRANS-CANADA PIPE LINES' PLACE IN THE CANADIAN ECONOMY"

An Address by

N. E. TANNER,
Chairman of the Board, Trans-Canada Pipe Lines Limited

Thursday, December 11, 1958

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. Bruce Legge.

LT.-COL. LEGGE: Most of the Speakers of the House of Commons in Ottawa have addressed this Club but today we will hear Mr. N. E. Tanner who, among his other achievements, was appointed Speaker of the Alberta Legislature at his First session in 1935. The Social Credit Government soon summoned him to the Cabinet and for seventeen years he was the Minister of the Departments of Mines and Minerals and of Lands and Forests. In 1952 the surging development of Alberta's resources drew him to private commerce and in 1954 he was named President of Trans-Canada Pipe Lines and later Chairman of the Board. Now that the line is in operation, he has renounced some of these heavy burdens and is the Managing Director in charge of the Calgary Office, as well as a Director of The Toronto-Dominion Bank, the National Trust Company and the Inland Cement Company. Mr. Tanner is a family man who has five children and nineteen grandchildren, but still finds time to be a life member of the Boy Scouts Association. He is also the President of the Calgary District of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, and was given an honorary LL.D. by Brigham Young University.

Nevertheless, Mr. Tanner's fame will not rest on his career as a religious leader and as a Cabinet Minister but on his role as the leader of the Trans-Canada Pipe Lines. Since Sir Winston Churchill has concerned himself with most of the activities of mankind, it is not surprising that he has something true and something poetic to say about the importance of transport in warfare: "In a tale of war, the reader's mind is filled with the fighting. The battle . . . with its vivid scenes . . . excites imagination and commands attention. The eye is fixed on the fighting brigades as they move amid the smoke; on the swarming figures of the enemy; on the General, serene and determined, mounted in the middle of his staff. The long trailing line of communications is unnoticed. The fierce glory that plays on red, triumphant bayonets dazzles the observer; nor does he care to look behind to where, along a thousand miles of rail, road and river the convoys are crawling to the front in unnoticed succession. Victory is the beautiful, bright-coloured flower. Transport is the stem without which it could never have blossomed".

It is easy to draw an analogy to Sir Winston's image because the long continental pipe line is the new form of transport and the completion of the Trans-Canada Pipe Line this October was certainly a victory in the field of human construction. Nor is it remote and unreal to say that there were vivid scenes and sounds of battle connected with the creation of the pipe line.

Sharp differences of opinion are only natural for any major undertaking, as the manifold memoirs of the allied war leaders attest. The pipe line battle was no exception and both parliament and the country were divided in a tumultuous debate as to the best way of building this great project. Once the issue was decided, however, Mr. Tanner and his associates raced to finish another step in the rich development of this Dominion.

As a forum of public affairs, The Empire Club of Canada is fortunate to be addressed by the man who drove the pipe line to its victorious completion and who will now tell us about 'Trans-Canada's Place in the Canadian Economy'.

MR. TANNER: I have chosen to talk today about The Trans-Canada Pipe Line project and its contribution to the economic welfare of this great country. It is not necessary here for me to point out that in the development of every country the transportation facilities are probably the most vital element in moulding an economically sound foundation. It not only affects the early settlement of the country but it is of paramount importance at every stage of its development. The economic life and development of nations have been built upon the exchange of commodities, and the more satisfactory the system of exchange the greater the opportunity for accumulation of wealth. This is particularly true of Canada with its great expanse of territory. The products of this country, from above or below the surface, cannot become great sources of wealth to the country until they have been developed and until the surplus of one region can be conveyed by adequate means of transportation to other regions or markets, where there is a demand for these products, nor can the country carry on as a unit without adequate means of transportation. This fact was so evident that as early as 1885 the C.P.R. was completed under most trying conditions and circumstances, in an endeavour to bind together various segments of this great nation, so widely separated both by distance and topography.

Since that time the widely separated parts of the country have been tied more and more closely together by the completion of other trans-continental systems of transportation, such as the railways, highways, air lines, greatly improved waterways and by our most recent systems of pipe lines. One cannot imagine what Canada would be like today without any one of these great systems which make possible the rapid and economic exchange of goods and transportation of people in the fast moving business of today. Though each and every one of these systems of transportation has proven to be of such great importance to the future economy of Canada and vital to the wellbeing of its people, they have often met with the severest of criticism and opposition, but rarely, if ever, has any project been the cause of so much controversy and been under such constant fire and excited so much public interest from coast to coast as the Trans-Canada project. However, today, all will agree that every one of these systems is vital to Canada and a credit to the energy and foresight of many Canadians. It is not my intention, therefore, to deal with any of the criticisms nor controversies nor actions taken by any board or government. Rather I should like to outline briefly for you what this project will contribute to the economic welfare of this great country of ours and to the enjoyment of a higher standard of living by millions of Canadians.

It is a great source of satisfaction for me today to be able to say that the final weld in the Trans-Canada Pipe Line 2,290 mile natural gas transmission system was made two months ago yesterday. It was tested and approved by the Board of Transport Commissioners for Canada on October 22nd. Five days later the valves were opened to make Canadian gas available to Canadians all along the system from Alberta to Montreal. It is also most gratifying to be able to say that the line has been completed ahead of schedule and well within the estimated cost. This is a real credit to our then President, Charlie Coates, and his engineers and all who have been responsible for directing the construction of this mammoth undertaking. Credit and appreciation also goes to all those companies and individuals who co-operated and assisted in making this project a reality. First I should like to discuss with you the varied aspects of the source of supply of this great fuel, natural gas, which is the most modern and desirable fuel available today. I say this because gas as a fuel requires no storage whatever, such as bins or tanks. It is easy to control and an adequate supply is always on tap. It offers the most uniform and controlled heat and is cleaner than any other fuel.

In order to discover, develop and establish proven reserves of oil and natural gas, it was necessary for millions and millions of dollars of new risk capital to be invested by those who had faith in the future of the country. Yes, millions of real risk capital were spent in the search for oil and gas prior to 1947 when the Leduc strike was made; in fact, the Imperial Oil Company alone spent over $23 million before it made its successful discovery at Leduc. Since that time it is estimated by most reliable authorities that between four and five billion dollars have been invested in the oil and gas industries in Canada, which is equal to $265 for every man, woman and child in Canada. These great expenditures of new risk capital in the oil and gas industry have been most beneficial to Canada in many ways. It has included aerial photographic, magnetomotive and geologic surveys; the drilling of hundreds of stratigraphic test wells; all accomplished through the use of helicopters, Canadian-built deHavilland aircraft; muskeg tractors built by Bombardier of Quebec; trains, trucks and cars; and diesel-powered tugs and barges. It has helped open up much new country in the Western Provinces and the Northwest Territories by building roads and establishing new bases along rivers and lakes where no development had ever taken place, thereby making it available for settlement and the development of other natural resources. The same is true of many places along our main line, especially in Northern Ontario, where roads had to be built, compressor stations constructed and fuel made available, all of which would encourage more settlement and make more and more mining, forest and industrial development possible. The great exploration, and later drilling programme, which was carried on resulted in the development of our oil and gas resources; in fact, in the last decade Canada has moved from a position where she could produce only 10% of her oil requirements to where she is now able to produce more than 100%, even though the consumption in Canada has increased nearly three-fold. With the millions of barrels of proven reserves of oil, Canada is in a very favourable position as far as being independent of foreign countries for its oil requirements. This development programme has also resulted in proven reserves of natural gas being increased in the last eight years from 4.8 to over 26 trillion cubic feet, thereby placing Canada in a position where all of her natural gas requirements can be met with Canadian natural gas, with large quantities available for export, as and when they are developed.

There seems to be a general feeling among those who are not closely associated with the industry that when the statement is made that there are trillions of cubic feet of gas reserves now proven, that sufficient gas wells have been drilled to deliver the gas and are capped and just waiting to be produced. In reality, millions and millions of dollars will have to be spent in the drilling of hundreds of wells in the proven areas, so that the gas may be produced as required. In addition the construction of processing plants will be required to take out the by-products, such as sulphur, butane, propane, etc., before the gas is suitable and available for the pipeline to take it to the ultimate consumer. Also, Alberta Gas Trunk Line will spend over fifty million dollars in building lines to the producing fields to carry the gas to Trans-Canada Pipe Line's terminal at the Alberta-Saskatchewan border. It is very significant to note that without pipeline transportation oil and gas development would be very materially restricted; in fact, the transportation of gas is entirely dependent on pipelines. No home or industry could be provided economically with natural gas as a fuel or raw material without a pipeline.

The Trans-Canada Pipe Line system, which extends from Alberta to Montreal, and makes gas available to hundreds of industries and many thousands of homes all across Canada, is the largest and longest single pipe line that has ever been undertaken as an initial project and naturally presented many problems in its construction. Before the financing of the project could be undertaken at all it was necessary for us to carry on months of negotiations with both the producers and distributors for the firm purchase and sale of gas on a unique twenty-five and twenty year basis. Without these contracts it was impossible to proceed with the financing. Also, it was necessary for five of the original corporate sponsors to guarantee twenty-one million dollars of interest on bonds and debentures until such time as the earnings could be built up to cover interest requirements. Without actually seeing the construction gangs in operation with their enormous machinery, it is impossible to visualize or describe the problems with which they had to contend. Even before construction was begun it was necessary to negotiate for rights-of-way sixty-five feet in width all along the 2,300 mile line, with at least 5,000 owners, some of whom were scattered all over the world, and the rights-of-way varied from prairie wheat fields and cattle ranches to very small parcels of suburban acreage. Then too, nearly one million tons of pipe and other material had to be ordered and delivered in time for the construction. This tremendous tonnage would load over 40,000 railway cars and many thousands of trucks. The British-made pipe which was used required 100 shiploads to bring it to Canada. Welland Tube of Welland supplied 110,000 tons. The handling of these large quantities of pipe and assembling and checking for use was no mean undertaking.

Then too, imagine having to dynamite and blast a trench six feet wide and six feet deep through more than 500 miles of the granite shield, the hardest rock ever experienced by veteran pipeliners, where almost twelve million pounds of dynamite had to be used, in fact, well in excess of that used in the dynamiting of Ripple Rock in the Pacific. In many places solid rock overburden had to be blasted and moved before the heavy machinery could even be brought in to carry on with the drilling and blasting of the trench. A second blasting was necessary to remove ragged edges; the broken rock all had to be moved out, three regular sand bags were laid every twenty feet and the pipe specially wrapped to protect it from the jagged rock. On three of the sections not a single foot of trench was cut with the regular rotary ditcher. The blasting of the trench also had to be done under rivers and lakes through the solid pre-cambrian rock by men working from barges set up and anchored in the stream. Three hundred miles of muskeg had to be crossed in an area where they experienced the worst weather in memory with only five days free from rain from June 1st to August 15th, where the heavy machinery would sink almost out of sight and special equipment had to be used and miles and miles of riprapping done; all of these conditions were conquered by the ingenuity of the pipeline builders. Besides this they were faced with miles of moving sandhills in Saskatchewan and hundreds of river, highway and railway crossings, with much of the construction being done in severe winter weather with temperatures as low as 40° below zero. The bending of as many as 100 bends per day of 30 to 34 inch pipe to follow the contour of the country, the tarring and inner and outer wrapping of every inch and welding every forty foot joint was necessary to form a solid steel artery some 2,300 miles in length, through all kinds of terrain. All this was necessary to make this mammoth undertaking possible and to serve Canadian gas to Canadians. The first section of 76 miles of the line was built from Niagara to Toronto in 1954, making it possible to build up a market here in the Toronto area. Gas has been made available by Consumers Gas Company to the consumers here in Toronto for the last four years through this line. Construction of the West-East pipeline began in July of 1956, but after 225 miles were laid construction was discontinued as a result of the steel strike in the United States. It was re-commenced in 1957, when over 1,100 miles were constructed; then in 1958 the remaining 850 miles were completed. The total actual construction time was just over one year.

The impact of this giant Trans-Canada system on the economy of Canada will be felt from coast to coast and we hope in many important parts of the United States. As you all know, Canada has been greatly blessed by nature providing it with an abundance and variety of natural resources. Petroleum and natural gas, however, are in greatest abundance in the west about 2,300 miles from the centre of population here, where the people and the industries provide the greatest demand. Therefore, extensive transportation systems, one of which is the Trans-Canada Pipe Line, are necessary to make it possible for the country to enjoy the benefits of this great natural resource. When one stops to realize that every wheel of industry is dependent on petroleum products to continue in operation, he is more conscious of the importance of this industry. Some of the benefits of this essential transportation system may be listed: 1. It provides a market for and, therefore, encourages the development of petroleum and natural gas, which is present in such abundance in the west, and which is so essential in the east. Approximately 200 million dollars a year will have to be spent for drilling and equipping new gas wells necessary to supply Trans-Canada's needs. 2. Many processing plants will have to be built for the purpose of extracting by-products from the gas. 3. Alberta Gas Trunk Line Company will spend over 50 million dollars to build a pipe line system to pipe the gas from the many producing fields to Trans-Canada's western terminal at the Alberta-Saskatchewan border. 4. Many associated industries have been and will be established all across Canada, such as the Welland Tube Company pipe mill at Welland; the Mannesman Tube Company of Sault St. Marie; the Alberta Phoenix Tube and Pipe; the Regina Pipe Company; Peace River Glass Company, which makes wrapping material for pipelines; valve manufacturing plants and plants required to make dope to be used for the covering of pipe. 5. Petrochemical plants will be built in different parts of Canada for the use of gas as a raw material and as a base for the manufacture of a very wide range of synthetic goods, such as clothing made from nylon, orlon and dacron, which are long wearing and wrinkle resistant fabrics. Also, many kinds of plastics, detergents, insecticides, etc., are made from natural gas. 6. It will make available in abundance the most desirable fuel known today for approximately half the area of Canada, and will add to the comfort and convenience of approximately two-fifths of the population, or over six million Canadians. 7. Utility companies which will pipe the gas from Trans-Canada's Pipe Line to your homes and industries, will also spend large sums of money in extending present services and completing new systems. 8. All of these industries from one end of Canada to the other provide employment for thousands and tens of thousands of men and women, many of whom must be technically trained. 9. Vast areas of new country will be opened up for settlement and industrial development, particularly in Northern Ontario. 10. Finally, it will have a very far-reaching effect on foreign trade and exchange. In 1956 Canada imported $130 million worth of coal from the United States, $12 million worth of sulphur, over $50 million worth of pipe and $15 million worth of natural gas. Practically all of the natural gas will be replaced by our own Canadian gas and when export permits are granted millions of dollars will come into Canada in payment of the gas exported. We are safe in estimating that the saving in coal imports will be approximately $40 million now being spent for United States' coal. With Trans-Canada taking large volumes of gas, sulphur will be recovered in quantity sufficient to meet all of Canada's requirements, with large quantity for export. From the above it would be safe to estimate that well over $200 million savings and earnings in United States' dollars per year will result from this pipeline, which makes it possible for Central and Eastern Canada and some of the United States to use Canadian gas.

I should like now to deal briefly with the question of export of natural gas, which has occupied so much of the time and consideration of boards, commissions and governments and the people generally. This, I feel, is a question of major importance.

In the administration of the natural resources of a country any government has the responsibility to see that the resources are developed with as little waste as possible, or, in other words, that a good conservation programme is carried out, and, further, that the needs of the citizens of the country are fully protected. However, these resources should not be saved just for the sake of saving them for future generations, but, if there is a surplus after protecting the needs of the people for the foreseeable future, and the trend is toward further development and greater production, as it definitely is with natural gas, exportation to a suitable market would be most beneficial to all. It goes without saying that export should be granted where it will make the greatest contribution to the Canadian people. It is generally conceded by boards, commissions and governments that Canada has sufficient proven reserves of gas to meet all of Canada's foreseeable requirements, together with trillions of cubic feet for export, as it is developed.

I should like to show how export proposed by our company would be beneficial to Canadians generally. We have entered into contracts with Midwestern Gas Transmission Company to sell 200 mmcf of gas at Emerson and also with Tennessee Gas Transmission Company for 200 mmcf at Niagara Falls, the second being contingent upon the first. The sale of this gas at Emerson would assure producers of an additional market for 200 mmcf of gas per day and, therefore, it would greatly encourage the development of the presently proven reserves and the search for further reserves. This in itself would start a chain of activity in the associated industries that would be felt all across Canada and would result in more and more of our Canadian oil and gas resources being developed and made ready for use. This contract would be very helpful to the consumer in Eastern Canada as the gas would be sold to the midwest on a 90% load factor the year round and would more fully utilize the facilities of the Trans-Canada Pipe Line and, therefore, would reduce the unit cost of transportation to the consumers in Eastern Canada. This would make it possible to serve more Canadians over a wider area here in the east. Even greater and more important contributions would be made as a result of the contract to export surplus gas at Niagara. Under our contract Tennessee Gas Transmission, which has very large storage reservoirs close to Niagara, is able to take and has contracted to take delivery of any amount from nothing up to 200 mmcf of gas per day as it is not required for use in Canada. Trans-Canada Pipe Lines has no obligation to deliver any gas but has the market available from day to day or month to month as the gas is not required by Canadian consumers. This arrangement also makes a supply of gas in storage always available if needed to meet Canadian requirements.

Our project is built and must be so maintained as to meet the peak requirements of our Canadian consumers at any time. This means that in the summer months and on warm days, when the demand is low, the project would have a ready market for any gas in excess of the Canadian requirements. This contract, as you can readily see, would make is possible for us to run our line at full capacity the year round and every day of the year without in any way prejudicing the supply for the Canadian consumer. Such an arrangement reduces very materially the unit cost of transportation. It is very comparable to a train running full as compared to running at half capacity. It should be very evident, therefore, that the export of natural gas is most desirable in that a larger market makes possible and encourages further development and, therefore, produces that much more new wealth; it also makes gas available more cheaply to the consumer. Besides this, any gas which is sold outside the country improves our balance of trade. In conclusion I should like to make a quick summary: 1. Pipelines are essential to the development of our gas resources and the making of them available to the market. 2. The development of the petroleum and natural gas industry has resulted in many new and associated industries being established all across the country, all of which help to develop the country and provide jobs for thousands and thousands of our citizens. 3. During the last ten years approximately four and one-half billion dollars has been spent in the development of the oil and gas industry, resulting in the establishment of much new wealth and in making Canada less and less dependent on other countries for this necessary fuel, energy and raw material. 4. Besides making this new wealth available much new country has been opened up for settlement and development of other natural resources and industry. 5. Though trillions of cubic feet of natural gas have been proven up millions of dollars must be spent in the drilling of hundreds of wells necessary to produce the gas and in the construction of plants required to process it for pipeline use. 6. The natural gas industry also contributes greatly to a favourable balance of trade. 7. The export of our surplus natural gas would contribute greatly to the development of our proven reserves and would provide new incentive in the search for new reserves and at the same time make gas available to the ultimate consumer in Canada more cheaply than it could be made available otherwise, and bring in millions of dollars in payment of the exported gas. Trans-Canada

Pipe Lines was built to serve Canadians from west to east and is determined to take her rightful place in a dignified manner, which we hope in time will be recognized as contributing greatly to the national economy and security of this our country.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Royd Beamish.

Christmas Meeting

Presenting
THERESA STRATAS
Lyric Soprano

Wednesday, December 17, 1958

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. Bruce Legge.

LT.-COL. LEGGE: At this large family party of the Empire Club of Canada we honour the immediate Past President of the Club, Lt.-Col. W. H. Montague, O.B.E., E.D., for the excellent discharge of his high and exacting duties last season. Col. Montague directed the affairs of the Empire Club of Canada with a deftness, expertness and enthusiasm which enhanced the traditions of this Club. During his Presidency the Club attained its highest membership and enjoyed a series of brilliant meetings. For his services the Empire Club of Canada presents the accolade of his office, namely, a parchment citation signed by our Honorary President, Field Marshal The Right Honourable Earl Alexander of Tunis, and bearing this inscription: "The Empire Club of Canada acknowledges with grateful thanks the services of Lt.-Col. W. H. Montague, O.B.E., E.D., as President during the year 1957-58."

Col. Montague, I have great pleasure in presenting this illuminated scroll with our thanks for your splendid contributions to the Empire Club of Canada.

In a gracious reply, Lt.-Col. Montague acknowledged the presentation of the illuminated scroll.

LT.-COL. LEGGE: On the Executive Committee of the Empire Club of Canada we have men of many talents, among whom are the Honourable Paul Hellyer who is a most accomplished musician, and Mr. J. B. McGeachy who is a famous writer, radio and television performer. These two were designated as a special committee to obtain a sparkling Canadian entertainer for the Christmas meeting of this great Club. As a result of their professional devotion to the interests of the Club, they were able to arrange for a soaring young Canadian singer, Miss Theresa Stratas, to present a special concert for us today.

The lovely Theresa Stratas is a Canadian girl of only twenty years of age, who has, by the miracle of her voice, won the unique distinction of the leading role in the Opera Festival Production of *La Boheme* as well as starring engagements with the Toronto and Houston Symphony Orchestras. As a matter of fact, Miss Stratas, with the nerve-wracking nonchalance of the very young in heart, has just stepped off an aeroplane from Houston, Texas, and come directly from the Airport to entertain us today. As well as shining in the operatic and concert world, Miss Stratas has found a place in the dazzling world of radio and television, and has appeared on Arthur Godfrey's shows. She has also given many concerts for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in the programmes, "The Songs of My People" and "Canadians All".

Today, accompanied by Mr. Mario Bernardi, Miss Stratas will charm us with a programme consisting of beautiful arias, Greek folk songs and the much loved carols of Christmas. I am honoured to present at this traditional party of the Empire Club of Canada a new Canadian singing star of whom international recognition and renown is confidently predicted.

MISS THERESA STRATAS, ACCOMPANIED BY MR. MARIO BERNARDI, PRESENTED A PROGRAMME OF ARIAS, GREEK FOLK SONGS AND CHRISTMAS MUSIC.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. J. B. McGeachy.

"THE DANGERS OF THE NUCLEAR AGE"

An Address by

SIR ROBERT WATSON-WATT
The renowned inventor of Radar

Thursday, January 15, 1959

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. Bruce Legge.

LT.-COL. LEGGE: Like so many of our fellow-Canadians, Sir Robert Watson-Watt was born and educated in Scotland and then crossed the Atlantic to live in the midst of the exciting development of this Dominion. Our guest of honour is an erudite Scot who had a splendid academic career. At University College in Dundee, he obtained the degree of Bachelor of Science and was subsequently awarded a Bachelor of Science from London University, Doctor of Laws from St. Andrews University and Doctor of Science from the University of Toronto.

Before the Second World War Sir Robert was the Director of Communications Development at the Air Ministry, and led the team which perfected the Science of Radio location—now universally known as Radar. It was this machinery of radio detection and control which revolutionized air warfare in the Battle of Britain. It brought unerring accuracy to the heedless bravery of the few thus saving the Mother Island from destruction and the allied powers from early defeat. It was an incredible feat of science and gallantry because the R.A.F. defeated the Luftwaffe although outnumbered in first-line planes by almost four to one. In this drama Sir Robert Watson-Watt was the wizard-scientist whose secret electronic equipment traced to their destruction the movements of the enemy aircraft through cathode ray tubes.

Sir Robert has from the beginning of his scientific career concerned himself with seeing or hearing better and from greater distances than ever before. His first individual research resulted in tracking meteorological balloons for wind-measurement in the upper atmosphere to much increased ranges. His second research project resulted in locating individual lightning flashes at distances up to 4,000 miles from the observing station. The equipment which he devised in 1916 for this project is in very wide daily use in the world weather networks of today. It was also employed to track the dreaded U-boats in the Second World War and has been described by an American historian as no less important to victory in the Battle of the Atlantic than was radar itself. His researches on the travel of radio waves have helped radio communication, television and navigation. In short, our speaker's talents for the miraculous devices of war were simply forerunners of the wondrous electronic creations which have startled our imagination in the new space and nuclear age.

Sir Robert's achievements as a prolific author and as an unique inventor have been internationally acclaimed. During the War he was created a Commander of the Bath and later received the accolade of Knighthood. He was made a Fellow of the Royal Society and he received the highest honour that the President of the United States can bestow upon a civilian—the Medal of Merit. Sir Robert Watson-Watt's place in Britain's Hall of Honour is secure, not like Sir George for slaying the Dragon but for preventing the Dragon from slaying St. George in the Battle of Britain. Today he honours us not as a hero of the past, but as one of the world's savants who will speak to the members of The Empire Club of Canada about the future and tell us of the "Dangers of the Nuclear Age".

SIR ROBERT WATSON-WATT: I don't think that I need take time to define what I mean by the "Nuclear Age" or the closely associated "Space Age". Neither has a very suitable name: each has good and bad aspects; both were already promising infants before the outbreak of World

War II; both developed their bad aspects within that war period. The bad side of the Space Age was heralded by the V2 attacks on Great Britain; the bad side of the Nuclear Age had its lurid baptism of fire in that monumentally inhuman error, the dropping of the Atomic Bomb over Hiroshima.

I count it an advantage that I have no specialist knowledge or experience in the fields of nuclear science or missile engineering. I might almost claim that in relation to both, in their bad aspects, I was an early member of His Majesty's Opposition. I had to fight to keep my radar team-mates from being carried off into atomic bomb projects, and I had to lead my team-mates into the preparation and use of radar devices to mitigate the V-2 dangers.

Whatever justification I have for talking to you on my announced subject rests on three bits of my experience outside the nuclear research field. First comes a group of treasured friendships with many of the pioneers, from Ernest Rutherford, Niels Bohr and the Curies onward, and some post-war contacts with workers on the enemy side.

A more substantial second is that the audacities and versatilities which my colleagues and I learned to exercise in the development of radar were very advantageous to the time-table of nuclear research and development.

The third—and probably the most important of my three props is that I am something of a *practising specialist in human fallibility*. You will have observed that a whole galaxy of top brass has recently made the startling if belated discovery that the pen is mightier than the sword. Well to the rear of the advancing Admirals, Generals and Air Marshals of World War II, I was learning with—and in part from—them, much of policy. Plagiarising from an earlier General, I can say of many politicians, some defence scientists and a few military leaders, "I don't know what effect they will have on the enemy but by God, they frighten me"—and all this with the best intentions in the world! In the course of my learning—through doing in the field of defence science, technology and operations, I re-learned that "Patriotism is not enough", that passive apprehension is far from enough, and that in the theatre of war there is no comfort to be drawn from that easy slogan of the theatre of peace, "It'll be all right on the night".

When, in a brief excursion beyond the Iron Curtain in the Fall of 1953, I ventured to disagree fundamentally and explicitly with those whose spiritual home lay there, a distinguished Soviet Academician said to me,, "Since you obviously don't know what you are talking about, you'd better come on to Moscow with me to learn the truth". I'm sorry now that I didn't say "Snap", but even so I have learned, from some of his colleagues, as from some of my own, enough to assure you that I do not know some of the things I am talking about.

These include some of the good material aspects of the nuclear age: (1) the assured prospect of practically unlimited electrical energy for the peaceful pursuits of every people; (2) the assured prospect of greatly increased food production—to postpone the world catastrophe of world starvation; (3) the assured prospect of great advances in the biological sciences and in their application to the improvement of the human condition.

They include, too, some of the good material aspects of what I may call the "inner-space age" and of the good intellectual and spiritual aspects of the "outer-space age". I am, however, at the best reserved, and at the worst deeply sceptical, about the material value of human controls over terrestrial processes, to be achieved through space vehicles. For example, in a world where my fellow meteorologists have, at best or worst, advanced no further in "weather engineering" than to stealing the neighbour's rain, I take a dim view of the political consequences of corresponding achievements on a national scale instead of on our current parochial scale.

It isn't as easy, as you might expect to compile, from the daily newspapers, a reasonably balanced list of "Dangers of the Nuclear Age". It is much easier to measure from the papers, the dangers of death on the road than of death from the clouds. But the newspapers have not failed to record, with undue restraint, the immediate and long term dangers from nuclear tests, under the nominally peaceful conditions of today. They have noticed (1) the present certainty that we know enough about nuclear weapons to be sure that the power to ensure the destruction of civilization and the extinction of mankind is *now* in the hands of mankind; (2) the knowledge that defence against nuclear attack is excessively and increasingly difficult, and that unfounded faith in defensive measures may contribute to the outbreak of a nuclear war; (3) that even the destruction of all weapons of mass destruction now could postpone catastrophe by no more than a couple of years at best, since the knowledge behind them is indestructible and widely available; (4) that a small power could, by accident, or design, trigger off a major nuclear war; (5) that the cataloguing of existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons by international agreement cannot be made evasion-proof, and so on.

Despite a conspiracy of silence about the steps which every major power has taken to ensure that its potentials in relation to "biological warfare" are not neglected, the diligent reader *may* even have learned that the Big Bad Bomb may be surpassed in daemonic destructivity by the Poor Power's Poison. Compared with the colossal costs of delivering the nuclear bomb on target, the admitted inconvenience of distributing biological agents of destruction is largely offset by the ease and quickness of manufacture in complete secrecy, and by the unobtrusiveness and cheapness of the distribution processes available. Yet I know only one newspaper which has told its readers of the availability of a toxic substance of which a total quantity of eight ounces, appropriately distributed, could kill off every human being on our planet, and this is only one item in the biochemist's Chamber of Horrors.

For me, however, these relatively over-publicised instruments of destruction belong to the mere footnote level in the Catalogue of Dangers of the Nuclear Age. The true and terrifying dangers of the nuclear age are stored, not in the laboratory, in the arsenal or in the armoury, but in the mind of man. Yesterday they were the dangers of the Air Age; a day or two before that they determined the tragic shape of the 1812 Overture.

That exquisitely appointed, incredibly compact, superbly versatile electronic installation, the human brain, is at once a Communications Centre, a Storage Plant, an Analytical

Laboratory, and a Generating Station. It would not be capable of its highest achievements were it not so equipped as to be capable also of staggering misapplications. Both extremes in its performance are conditioned by what the electronics engineer calls filter circuits. Some of these will stand in the way of converting general knowledge into particular awareness, awareness into wisdom, wisdom into effective and timely action. I often wonder which of my U.S. colleagues in the early warning game was the cynic who gave, to a now much publicized artificial military mind, the odd name of "Semi Automatic Ground Environment" so that it might have the misleading pet name "Sage"—which is precisely what it cannot be! But that is an aside, though not an irrelevance. Its relevance lies in the fact that these "filter circuits of the mind" as I have called them may embody loose contacts, switching errors, and broken connections which I have swept into one gigantic and potentially explosive junk heap bearing the label "Human Fallibility".

In other places I have shown how human fallibility in the radar world prevented the wide use of adequate radar data, obtained by low-level reliable observers. Human fallibility, higher up, denied us the mitigation of the disaster at Pearl Harbour and of our humiliation by the safe passage of the German battle-cruisers under the very muzzles of the big guns at Dover. I have, in detail, outlined ways in which major defects in military organization at highest levels, due to human fallibility near the top of the uniformed branches, were corrected by civilian statesmen who were, primarily and by predilection, philosophers rather than politicians. And I have already today mentioned the anxiety of some generals and some politicians to show how large a fraction of the human fallibility which delayed or diluted victory was lodged in minds other than their own.

In nuclear warfare, if, God forbid, we bring it on ourselves, and in the periods when all human wisdom has to be mobilised to avert nuclear warfare, the chains of responsibility in planning and in execution—preventive or implementing—have vastly more links in each line and many more cross-links to parallel and alternate chains, than in "conventional" warfare. Even so, the increased opportunities for human error at executive levels are *still* not the ones which I most fear. Examples of such possibilities will present themselves as we discuss the higher policy, weaknesses.

The price of brinkmanship weighs heavily upon my mind. The ground rules of this game have been outlined by John Foster Dulles. I regard these as resting on at least one basic and stupendous mis-assumption. This assumption is that a sufficient approximation to *practical* infallibility can be maintained by the Head Brinksman. This assumption is in itself so clearly and unmistakably evidence of human fallibility that it must invalidate the consequent assumptions embodied in the rules. And even while the brinksman maintains his precarious balance on the uncharted and crumbling rim of an unfathomable abyss, his fellow-citizens see their treasures sinking into at least four engulfing craters, each much more capacious than Fort Knox. The most readily visible of these drains is not necessarily the most deadly. It is the economic drain, but the technological, the intellectual and the moral drains are deeper and more lethal.

Even the most obvious, however, is tolerated with pathetic and dangerous fortitude by the victims. If I may switch my simile without (I hope) mixing my metaphor, I want to speak of a national insurance policy and the related insurance premium.

In the frugal Scotland of my boyhood, the average householder had a mental budget showing those fractions of the household income which should go respectively to payment of rent, food, clothing and so on. Insurance premiums were not forgotten; I should be surprised if they were set above 10% of gross income; I should be still more surprised if every word of the policy, however small the type or large the alleged benefits, were not scrutinized with a care that *surpassed scepticism and approached cynicism*. The national household which sleeps uneasily of nights below the undefended frontier is not sufficiently Scottish for my taste. It allows the heid o' the hoose to spend more than half the household's dollar budget as annual premium on a policy of insurance that cannot possibly be an assurance of national survival through the planned horrors of the nuclear age. In his "State of the Nation" address he put the premium at 60%. Even this is not the full measure—not even the most significant measure—of the burden of mis-assurance.

If the Statue of Liberty were today to play the role of the Roman matron who said "These are my jewels" her hands would certainly be laid on the heads of her favourite sons, the technologists. Yet they are, in large measure, the expendables of our uneasy truce. They are withdrawn from their essential role, as major breadwinners in the modern national family, to devise hardware which even the head of the household believes to be most valuable while it lies idle. For them is "that one talent which is death to lose lodged with me useless, though my soul more bent to serve there with my Maker, and present a true account" . . . For them, for the harvesters of the material crop which grows from the seeds sown by the scientists, and for those sowers themselves, as for all our moralists and our intellectuals generally, our governments are culpably prodigal fathers, in their diversion of talents.

This spendthrift housekeeping is, as is everything spendthrift, the consequence of illusions. On the grand scale appropriate to great nations, it is based on at least two grand illusions, which it is my particular mission to examine. These are, in order of senescence, the Illusion of National Sovereignty and the Illusion of The Great Deterrent.

The essence of National Sovereignty is, in my view, the ability of a nation to assure to its citizens, within its frontiers, the undisturbed enjoyment of the privilege of living their individual and communal lives within the bounds of a code of national laws which they have themselves accepted and thus approved, and which they can amend by constitutional process. Beyond this most carefully limited concept has grown up a group of formally recognized external rights, to protect the lives, and the legitimate means of livelihood, of its nationals beyond their national frontiers. That this wider conception could not be held intact by peaceful means affecting only two or three nations became manifest within the nineteenth century at the latest. That it could not soon be restored to full effectiveness by wider international mechanism was made manifest by a decision of the United States after World War I (the refusal to join the League of Nations) and by the shackles rivetted of the United Nations Organization after World War II (the Soviet insistence on a stultifying minority veto). I am *almost* convinced that the U.N. Organization was deliberately put in a glass house so that it might be discouraged from throwing some very salutary stones. I am *quite* convinced that we have not now advanced so far beyond the creditable level of the Pax Britannica as some of our near neighbours think.

However that may be, it is unescapably certain that none of us can any longer delude ourselves into believing that even the essence of National Sovereignty rests within our own control, or that it has passed into safe keeping on the West bank of the East River. A large fraction of our policy is made in Moscow and Peiping.

I wish I could even convince myself that "The West"—whatever that may be—was now ready to see the obvious, and to join in a programme of revision of the U.N. Charter which would take account of the obvious. In this particular case, the obvious, as it appears to me, is this: Firstly that the maintenance of national armies would be neither necessary nor desirable if there existed an effective U.N. policy and police organization; secondly that the sacrifice of that illusion of a national sovereignty which is used to excuse the maintenance of national armies is no sacrifice at all, save a sacrifice of false face in exchange for a potentially sure shield. Don't tell me that this project will take a lot of selling—I know it will, but it's worth the work involved.

Another Grand Illusion is that of the Great Deterrent. This monument of wishful thinking belongs to the more dangerous species of illusion, the kind of illusion that would cease to be illusory if only we could put enough money, effort and wisdom into giving it dependable substance. It is the more dangerous because we can so easily make ourselves believe that we *have* put into it enough of "what it takes". But this involves a Nelsonian blind eye for human fallibility.

The widely accepted belief about the Great Deterrent is this. Two sufficiently great Great Powers A. and B. can each build up a nuclear armament system capable of completely disabling the other Great Power by striking the first blow, with fission-fusion bombs probably carried by Inter-Continental Missiles. But of course, Great Power A. is too noble to strike the first blow. So will wait until it *has* been hit and until it has what it believes to be adequate evidence that it is in fact B. who has initiated the striking of the first blow. The Great Deterrent would then be seen not to have sufficiently deterred. True, this discovery would be uncomfortably late. However, now convinced that B. *has* struck the first, A. would then strike the second blow. The retaliatory power of this second blow is such—and so well known to B.—that B. will refrain from striking the first. I am not quite clear whether or not B. will be invited to inspect A.'s system in such detail as to satisfy himself that he should refrain, but I get the impression that this is *not* part of the project.

Anyway, there are other difficulties about deterrence. First, there is quite a sharp difference between the ability to make an effective first strike and the ability to reply with an effective second strike. It is dangerous to think that the plan for one is adequate for the other, save after drastic changes. I haven't had any wide body of *expressed* support for my view that there is in fact no deterrent for dictators; Adolf Hitler *may* of course have been a less representative dictator than I am sure he was! Fortunately his scientists hadn't given him the means of pulling the shroud over his continent. Lunacy, temporary or permanent, is not the monopoly of any one power, and it may break out at an inconvenient moment. Since, by definition, we can plan only for the allegedly rational, we cannot fully provide against lunatic acts—but we should not forget them in our planning. This is particularly important when we are guesstimating the point of origin of the first thing to hit us, whether it was meant to hit *us*—and the reasoning behind the hit.

It would unduly strain your kindly tolerance were I to examine in detail the reasons for distrusting "the Great Deterrent"; some of them have recently been set down, under the illuminating title "The Delicate Balance of Terror" by a member of the Rand Corporation. For the reasons that he gives (from a much deeper study than I could achieve) as well as for the reasons which I find rooted in military history, I transfer the Great Deterrent to the category of the Great Illusions. Of these I have already discussed the one which could most beneficially be destroyed. That destruction would automatically cancel the dangers of the "Deterrent" which is unlikely sufficiently to deter.

The undeterring deterrent may illustrate a form of human fallibility to which I attach great importance in the present phase of the nuclear age. I apologize for saying again, here, things which I have already written elsewhere. But they deal with one of the greatest dangers of our age. Every great change in the level, efficiency and durability of what we call civilization has resulted from a great advance in science, with its consequent application through technology. Many, perhaps most, of these changes have had a bad as well as a good aspect; the Industrial Revolution resulting from the work of James Watt did both good and harm; "the American Way of Life" is not all good; the Soviet way of life is not all bad; all these depended in substantial measure on the evaluation of technological advances which were in turn based on advances in science. With the unprecedented accelleration of scientific advance in our own century, the accuracy, the adequacy and the freedom from ambiguity of communications between scientist and statesman becomes a decisive factor in inflating or deflating illusions. This interchange is complicated by the great difference between the ways of thought of scientist and politician respectively, and between the nature of the problems to which each is accustomed. The scientist is by profession an acute observer, an analyst of sharply definable phenomena which are individually relatively simple. I trust that I shall be understood to be sympathising with the politician rather than denigrating him when I say that he is a less acute observer and analyst of phenomena which are far less definable individually and far more completely interrelated than are the building bricks of physics. The professional climates in which they live, move and have their being are almost wholly incompatible, without being so recognised by the sufferers. Harm is done when the scientist counts himself fully busy, or is in fact too lazy, to explain himself fully to the politician; still greater harm is done when he becomes, and talks as, an amateur politician without clearly "declaring his interest" and his change of garment. There are already enough important examples of this miscommunication in the literature of the nuclear age to make me place it high on my danger list.

At the very summit of that list, I place the mental attitude expressed by a Minister of Education in the U.K. Cabinet, who was subsequently to rise very near to the summit in that Cabinet. Speaking to a University audience in which students of scientific subjects were in the majority, he said something like this. "For myself, I have little use for mathematics or science. The classics must remain the basis of our education because they teach us how man has always behaved and how he will always behave". Here is the key to the problem of how the greatest triumph of the human mind has been made the path towards the extinction of the human race. If I believed him, I could resign myself to that extinction. I don't

It is precisely because education has, throughout the centuries, tacitly, assumed that man would always attach special importance to armed conflict, that we are in our present phase of involuntary brinksmanship. The individual citizen learns in his school days that differences of opinion between him and other individual citizens are not settled by mutual blood-letting. But in these same school days he is indoctrinated in the tradition that differences of opinion between nations are normally settled by that crude recourse to the traditions of the brute creation. The present U.S. Ambassador to Switzerland, who is an economic historian, has written something important to the teaching of history: "The invention of the steam engine does not appear in news accounts which met the eyes of the world distracted by the Napoleonic Wars. Adam Smith wrote 'The Wealth of Nations' while Watt was experimenting with the steam engine; he referred to it in his writings as a 'fire engine' and dismissed it as such. Yet Watt's invention alone was a thousand times more important to the human race than Napoleon or the Napoleonic Wars, and, as a matter of fact, the simultaneous invention of the steam engine saved the world from much of the pauperism created by these disorders". Can it be that the dissolution of the partnership of B. & K. (Bulganin and Khrushchev), and the topical partnership of K. & M. (Khruschev and Mikoyan), is due to a re-evaluation of history in the same sense as this reversal of N. & W.? If it be so—and I am serious in posing the question—then an unagonizing reappraisal as between destroyer and creator might usefully be undertaken in North America also. It's no use crying over spilt blood, but do let's try to be our mental age.

It could scarcely be later than I think, but we must not yield to that other human fallibility of folding our hands in resignation before they are folded for us. Nor must we yield to the other fallibility, that of the sinful pride which reserves all the whitewash for our side and all the tar for what we believe to be the opposite side. By all means let us put tremendous effort into getting round the obstacles to full and free interchange of information from modest citizen to modest citizen through the curtain; let us proclaim that the great enemy of all the people is the man who puts obstacles in the way of communicating ascertainable facts and reasoned opinions from "man to man the world over". But first let us look again at national histories. Those who are soon to emerge from school to take over responsibility for the world which we have so crudely messed up over the centuries should be given a fair chance to re-examine the relative importance of reforming by killing and re-forming by knowing. Let them know that the technologist can make the world a fit place to live in, but that he cannot make life worth living. That can only be done by the engineering of the intangibles. We are wasting much of our opportunity to do that kind of engineering because we haven't discovered that to guard our intellectual workshops we need not soldiers but policemen, not politicians but statesmen. We need majority rule, but jealously guarded freedom for the heretic minority to convince the majority by force of spirit and not by force of muscle. We have to rediscover that the pen is indeed mightier than the sword.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Dr. C. C. Goldring.

"PLANNING FOR TRANSPORTATION IN THE METROPOLITAN COMMUNITY"

A Discussion by

ALLAN LAMPORT
A Member of the Toronto Transit Commission
and
JOHN C. PARKIN
One of Canada's Outstanding Architects

Thursday, January 22, 1959

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. Bruce Legge.

LT.-COL. LEGGE: Throughout its fifty-six years, The Empire Club of Canada has sought outstanding speakers to talk to us on international, Commonwealth and domestic subjects. In recent years we have used to advantage the happy device of panel discussions by local experts. Last summer we decided, therefore, to have two panels to consider on separate occasions the problems of the Senate and of Metropolitan transportation. Later in the season Senator Arthur Roebuck and Mr. B. T. Richardson, the Editor of *The Evening Telegram*, will deal with the Senate, and today The Empire Club of Canada is honoured to present, in this sequence, Mr. John C. Parkin and Mr. Allan Lamport in a discussion of the prodigious conundrum of "Planning for Transportation in the Metropolitan Community".

Mr. Lamport is a public figure who is prepared to fight for his beliefs. Contrary to popular opinion, it can be truthfully said that he learned to fight not in politics but at Upper Canada College, because he there became the Heavyweight Boxing Champion as well as Captain of the senior hockey team. He is a man of many activities and ever since 1926 he has been a keen aviator. He built Barker Airport on Dufferin Street in the early days of civil aviation and he was a member of the Committee which brought Malton and the Island Airports into being. During the Second World War he gave his services to the Royal Canadian Air Force and attained the rank of Squadron Leader. In politics, Mr. Lamport has been the member of the Ontario Legislature for St. Davids riding and is celebrated as the first Liberal Mayor of Toronto since William Lyon Mackenzie. He is famous for his fearlessness in espousing controversial causes such as Sunday Sports, hospital sweepstakes and the organization of Metropolitan Toronto. Since his appointment to the Toronto Transit Commission, Mr. Lamport has delved into the myriad questions of public transportation in the Metropolitan Community and comes to us as an authority of much experience and with definitely defined views of the real problems of planning.

Our other speaker today is Mr. John C. Parkin, a senior partner in Canada's largest architectural and engineering firm, whose activities extend half way around the world, from Newfoundland to Hong Kong. Mr. Parkin has at least one interest in common with Mr. Lamport because he is the architect for the New Malton Airport, while Allan Lamport was on the originating committee. In the universe of architecture, his firm has won innumerable awards and competitions and he has been designated by Viljo Rewell as the co-architect of the new Toronto City Hall. Like many other Torontonians, Mr. Parkin came from the West where he was an honour graduate of the University of Manitoba. He is also a Master of Architecture of Harvard University, a visiting lecturer at the University of Toronto, a Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects, a Member of the Royal Canadian Academy, a Past President of the Canadian Arts Council and a member of the Unesco National Commission of Canada. Because of his gifts and talents in the creative field Mr. Parkin was selected as a Canadian delegate to the Unesco Conference at New

Delhi, India, in 1956. As a modern architect Mr. Parkin is more concerned than most of us with the choking suffocation of our great cities and will bring us his clearly reasoned views on how and why we should plan for transportation in these enormous hives of mankind, the Metropolitan areas.

Gentlemen, I have pleasure in introducing Mr. Allan Lamport and Mr. John C. Parkin who will address us on "The Problems of Planning in the Metropolitan Community".

MR. PARKIN: For an architect, the problem of qualifying as an expert on transportation is indeed difficult. Having been so honoured with your kind invitation today, and in a somewhat inflated mood, I concluded that I had been invited because of our work at Toronto's new International Airport at Malton involving as it does a complex road pattern and the parking of 10,000 cars—or our work with the Parking Authority of Toronto and our design of mechanical parking garages at Dundas Square and Temperance Street—or our work as consulting architects on the Yonge Street Stations for the Toronto Transit Commission. After reflecting on, and then discarding each of these possibilities, I quickly concluded that an architect had really little technical right to speak as an expert on transportation—except from one point of view—and that, after a short digression, with your permission, I will come to in a moment.

Being but one of half a million drivers in our metropolis gave one little real right of constructive comment. During this period of conjecture I recalled a quotation from my student days from "Old Pictures in Florence" by Robert Browning. At the risk of making a very bad pun indeed, I will mention it, for it seemed curiously apt:

> "What a man's work comes to! So he plans it,
> Performs it, perfects it, makes amends,
> For the toiling and moiling, and then,
> SIC TRANSIT!"

Indeed—SIC TRANSIT GLORIA THURSDAY! Which is, perhaps, a good title for my part of today's discussion.

Seriously, however, that point of view on transportation on which we, as architects, might have some special fitness by way of training, is the impact of the design and provision of transportation facilities on the physical characteristics of our communities, in other words, transportation and community aesthetics—the attractive city environment.

I use the term aesthetics with no apology to this audience. There are still some elsewhere, however, who believe we con put off "this sort of thing" until the next century, there being more immediate problems of a so-called practical nature.

The old Aphorism—"Tell me who your friends are and I will tell you what you are", was paraphrased by the late Eliel Saarinen, one of our most eminent architects, to read —"Show me your city, and I will tell you what are the true cultural aims of its population". The first concerns the individual, the second that collection of individuals we call a city. All the ballet, music and opera and other will not make us a true city of Toronto until we have a worthy setting. Obviously, one of the important single factors which make up the worthy setting are not merely adequate transportation facilities, but beautiful ones as well.

We all now know that movement through space, when necessary at all, is a time-consuming, unproductive human experience. It should, at least, be provided under physically attractive circumstances. There need be no further Third Avenue "Els" marching across our cities, creating in their wake sunless and depressed surroundings.

Contrary, then, to the public opinion of the past, roads and mass transit facilities need not be ugly. In fact, it has been said by others many times that one of the truly important aesthetic expressions of this century has been the development of the expressway-parkway systems in and around our great North American cities.

I suppose all of us have sensed that strange combination of beauty and power on driving into Manhattan: across the giant bridges, and around the complex interchanges (with cars going in so many directions) with the traffic moving always in an organized, flowing, disciplined way; or on the expressways at rush hour along the lakefront of Chicago with surging traffic, more than 10 abreast; or in that most democratic and useful form of all mass transportation — rapid transit — as subway trains in seconds move through tunnels, past stations, through open cuts and into a tunnel portal again. New flowing patterns belonging not to the horse and buggy age are created by the new expressways, their interchanges and their landscaped areas. These are patterns belonging strictly to our age. They predict a new city.

A new urban scale is being created through both our new expressways and interchanges. We, in Toronto, are beginning to capture some of this unique new aspect of city planning as the Gardiner Expressway develops along our own lakefront. I had the occasion a month or so ago to drive into Toronto, from the West, very late at night after a meeting in Western Ontario. It was my first view of the Gardiner Expressway fully illuminated. The Lakeshore Road and the Expressway were virtually deserted. A long train was moving on the embankment nearby. This would be for anyone—as it was for me—a spectacular and an orderly first impression of our great metropolitan area.

Our Expressways are bold concepts, but as another great contemporary architect has said, "God is, in reality—in the details". It is to be hoped that the all-important details—the landscaping, the signs, the lamp standards—that these will be developed with as much taste, control and discernment as the basic concept of the expressway themselves—and the few ugly buildings closely adjoining and yet remaining at the city's west entrance removed shortly.

In due course, the Gardiner Expressway, the Don Valley Parkway, Highway 400 Extension and the others, will all be completed. Without the Metropolitan government they would never have been possible. But all of these, when completed, will simply cope with an already created demand in a metropolis which ranks behind only Detroit and Los Angeles in the number of cars per capita of population. Meantime, more and more cars are being bought to compound the congestion.

Having moved these thousands of cars towards the heart of our city, where do we park them? It would be nice to keep on building more and more parking garages, but this is but a partial answer to this many-sided problem. The

Christmas Meeting, December 17th, 1958. *From Left to Right:* Mrs. M. D. Morton; M. D. Morton; Mrs. Kelso Roberts; Hon. Kelso Roberts; The Lt. Governor and Mrs. Mackay (hidden); Lt.-Col. B. J. Legge; Mrs. Legge; Rt. Rev. Monsignor Ronan; Hon. Paul Hellyer; Mrs. Hellyer; John Pallett; Mrs. Pallett; Sir Robert Watson-Watt; Lady Watson-Watt.

ALLAN LAMPORT AND JOHN C. PARKIN MEETING, JANUARY 22ND, 1959. *From Left to Right:* Allan Lamport; John C. Parkin; Lt.-Col. B. J. Legge.

automobile is displacing both man, his home, and his arable land in its continuing domination.

If it can be established, then, that highways and expressways can be not only beautiful but also, an important expression of this age, and rapid transit facilities can be equally so, what about that all important issue, the heart of the city where all these transportation facilities converge? There are several things worth noting here, I think.

May I draw your attention to what another city of a somewhat smaller size than Toronto is actually doing about transportation at the core of the city—in this case expressways—and the city is Fort Worth, Texas. There the expressways will ultimately connect to what, at the risk of over-simplification, can be loosely described as loop highways encircling the actual central business section of the city. Adjoining these feeder loops will be built ultimately many parking garages. Cars will, in the due course of time, be finally banished from the streets of the heart area of Fort Worth and the central city will be once more returned to the pedestrian. There will be again literally "grass on Main Street". The streets in the downtown core area will become giant shopping centres with benches, landscaped malls, and, through the partial elimination of the automobile, the heart of Fort Worth will find its own solution in that continuing struggle for economic survival now underway between the downtown shopping-cultural core of the city versus their suburban competitor. Both heart and fringe have their very important roles, but each a somewhat different and complimentary one. The endless proliferation of services, highways and schools in an outward direction from the city's core and their mounting costs will very shortly bring us to the realization that this kind of wanton luxury cannot be afforded much longer.

The principal answer—but not the only answer, it is true—lies in rapid transit.

Expensive as subways may be, there remain only more expensive alternatives.

It has been proved that attractive rapid transit facilities in our major cities will entice people into their use; people who would otherwise think buses and street cars a waste of time, or inconvenient. I would assure you of my objectivity in these views in favour of a heavier reliance on rapid transit, intelligently balanced with expressways, for we have neither enough assessment, taxation or land to support any other direction of emphasis. To the architect I suspect there are very important visual implications in all this, and with the enormously increased interest in a more beautiful Toronto, as evidenced by the recent City Hall Competition, I trust you will bear with me a moment longer.

Toronto suffers, in the minds of many, with a kind of "scatteration". We have tall buildings, and important commercial centres scattered and discontinuous over an elongated area with depressed areas in between. This may be pleasing to experts in other callings, but to the architect the effect is to create a very uneven heartland to our metropolitan complex. In fact, the centre of our city has, at this moment, scarcely an urban character at all. The casual visitor, were it possible to arrive by helicopter, would scarcely know where to pinpoint his arrival downtown—such is the lack of emphasis. Rapid transit would aid mightily a more intensive development of this metropolitan heartland and would tend to minimize this aesthetically unattractive "scatteration". Under our Toronto planning and parks departments, together with lay support—open spaces, squares and parks would be developed more intensively and in accord with human needs. In the final analysis, then, an emphasis on rapid transit in combination with expressways; the provision of more parking facilities; the ultimate elimination of cars—(but on a gradual basis over the years)—from certain of the very downtown streets—would generate a more compact city, and one with a truly urban quality. Perhaps the new City Hall Square will be that generating or regenerating point.

This I submit, gentlemen, is how transportation does, in but one way, affect the aesthetics of a city, and this is not merely the architect's problem but everyone's.

Since it is now a little removed, let us pick an example of "penny-wise" thinking in civic transportation design and one which we must surely regret today. There are others. I would refer to the Mount Pleasant Extension build in the 1940's—and the first of our major post-war transportation improvements.

Who has not driven this roller-coaster and not wondered at its curious inclinations and curvatures? In today's terms it would have cost relatively little more to have depressed Mount Pleasant entirely through South Rosedale and to have followed better standards for gradients. Let us not perpetuate the same kind of thinking in planning some of our transportation facilities—rapid transit or highways—presently on the drawing boards.

"Penny-wise thinking" in design here results in the waste of energy, traffic lights, extra police and school guards, let alone frayed nerves. Were it possible to sensibly capitalize these they would show a staggering sum, and one we simply could not afford. It would be to the entire credit of our generation if, in the face of the threat of either national or civic annihilation through atomic forces, that there was yet enough idealism and faith that, whatever future there may be, it would say that we not only built vastly, but exceedingly well and beautifully.

Julian Huxley recently called attention to a fact that we have now begun to realize. This fact is that no amount of attention to public health and social services can be sufficient without attention to the question of beauty. Huxley then went on to say that it costs only a little more to build the beautiful than to build the ugly.

It has always struck me as a somewhat curious thing that, while the medical profession has rightly been so able to secure such vigorous community support for its technical problems in combatting disease in the individual body, we in planning, engineering, transit and architecture, concerned as we are with collective group known as the city, have, in relation, had so little success in evoking community support—at least outside of those dedicated individuals serving on planning boards. For most, "planning" is a rather vague concept—until a twelve-storey apartment is proposed next door to one's home.

Elsewhere in North America—and in many other centres — vigorous business and community support has created such examples as a more beautiful Pittsburgh through their Allegheny Conference.

Perhaps the Mayor's recent announcement of the creation of a somewhat similar body to the Allegheny Conference in Toronto will give important help to what the T.T.C., our engineers and planners, amongst others, have been attempting to do in creating a happier and more beautiful civic environment, with transportation an important aspect of a multi-faceted problem.

Let us have more than a little art along with all the science in the rebuilding of Toronto. Those of us concerned with the physical shaping of your city must provide that quality of imagination which will stir people and give them something they can point to with pride. Julian Huxley also has called "our next step in civilization"—the necessity of a positive attempt to make our environment a work of art.

MR. LAMPORT: I want to congratulate first my good friend, Mr. Parkin, with whom I share today's speaking honours and to say he does speak with experience because he has been responsible for the planning of our subway stations, and, as you know, simplicity of design is very important because it keeps down the cost of maintenance. He has done a splendid job on that in addition to those wonderful words of support of transit today, and I wish to convey on behalf of our Commission my thanks..

I do not come here as a transit expert, but I come as one of those working men of transit who is prepared to give every effort within my capacity to try to do the best job possible for you and the citizens of Metropolitan Toronto, and my bosses, Metropolitan Council.

I think perhaps I would be remiss in my duty if I did not point out that the man who probably has the greatest responsibility on his shoulders for transit planning, roads as well as rapid transit, is the very capable Chairman of the Ontario Municipal Board, Mr. Lorne Cumming, Q.C., here at your head table today. He has studied our problem very carefully and will have very many more to study, and he has the big road problems to study too. I think he has done a wonderful job in assessing the problem.

And too, I should point out Mr. Maher, also here at the head table, who is responsible for the entire planning of transportation as roads and rapid transit dictate.

I think it is interesting to know a little background about urban street capacity.

Maximum possible peak hour capacity per lane on a business street in the centre line lane is generally in the neighbourhood of 700 vehicles per lane per hour. The capacity of the lane next to the curb is much lower even when parking and stopping are strictly prohibited, and 350 vehicles per lane per hour is frequently used as its maximum possible peak hour capacity. Practical capacities, which involve movement without unreasonable restriction of the drivers' freedom to manoeuvre are lower, often in the neighbourhood of 800 vehicles per hour total for two lanes in the direction of heavier flow. These rule-of-thumb figures are seldom accurate for individual circumstances because they vary with the other capacities of the street, the stop-lights, police-handling of traffic and crossing street movements.

The foregoing applies to urban streets with the usual frequency of street intersections, traffic signals and, generally speaking, with commercial development. I will give you here a table which indicates maximum hour volume of traffic on six major traffic arteries in Toronto, as known by proper count. Lakeshore Boulevard and Mt. Pleasant Road maximum hour capacity including trucks is 1,500; maximum automobiles 1,400; maximum auto passengers 2,200. I am giving you these to show a comparison of what we can handle. On Keating Street, Avenue Road, Eglinton Avenue East, the maximum hour capacity of vehicles including trucks is 1,000; maximum autos 900; maximum hour capacity of passengers 1,500. On Eglinton Avenue West, the maximum hour capacity including trucks is 600; maximum autos is 500; maximum number of passengers per hour is 750.

The first group might be classed almost as expressways with very limited intersectional interferences. The second group as a main arterial road was somewhat more, but less than average, intersectional interference and the third could be classified as a more ordinary arterial road. From the standpoint of auto passenger capacity per lane, it will be noted that these arterial roads vary all the way from seven hundred and fifty to two thousand two hundred passengers. In comparison the following is a relative passenger capacity of transit services. Per lane—buses—4,500 passengers. Per lane—street cars—12,000, per lane of course as they have only one track. Local subway capacity as you know and I repeat it, is 40,000 per hour.

The T.T.C. does not quarrel with the use of the streets. The T.T.C. has to have its own arguments and expects the other side of the motoring public to look after itself. We don't agree with their argument. Many of you gentlemen who have to use your automobile for business purposes often sit in your automobile, radio on, certainly the heater on, and no matter how the traffic is delayed you can sit there in perfect comfort, even if it takes five or ten minutes. But imagine if you are one passenger waiting at the corner at a bus or street car stop on an evening like last night (blowing and snowing), with nothing to protect you from the inclement weather. Just imagine our job of protecting that passenger and, let me tell you, that 53% of the people we carry daily are ladies. So you can imagine our constant fight with those in authority who have to use their cars for business who see the motorists' viewpoint. We do have difficulty convincing them of our point of view and needs if they do not travel by public transit very often. While we quarrel with them, I assure you it is a friendly quarrel and it has been successful because the Planning Board, while they do look after roads, they certainly have been considerate in their support and inclusion of rapid transit in their plans for the future, in the surface rapid transit as well as underground. We don't quarrel with the motor car and its use and its importance, nor with the importance to the economy of the delivery of goods by truck.

On Lakeshore Boulevard to Strachan Avenue the speed is forty miles per hour. This is a beautiful road, but the maximum hour passenger per lane capacity is just 2,240. We are not quarrelling with taxes for the roads, we are saying that a job also has to be done for the 1,700,000 public transit riders per day in comparison with the four or five hundred thousand passengers who are carried by some 350,000 motor cars, when we handle 1,700,000 riders with 1,500 vehicles. There is a greater value and advantage in public transit and I compliment Mr. Parkin on the way in which he has assisted our T.T.C. argument.

While we depend on the Planning Board in the metropolitan area, we have our own transit planning staff, a technical staff which is seldom heard from but which we cannot get along without. They are required to take actual demand counts in the various areas. From time to time you see in the newspapers an argument coming from Metro's northwest, suggesting that we are not properly serving them. That is quite true. There has to be some place where we stop and we just cannot supply a bus because somebody up there wants one. That is why the legislation calls for taxicabs as well as transit. Unfortunately, it is not possible for public transit to serve them.

To illustrate how important population density is to an area, let me show you another comparison. Lower density areas are just as anxious to get transit as those in the City of Toronto. Representatives of these are Scarborough, Etobicoke, and North York, where the density is less than 4.5 persons per acre. And, to the planners of these subdivisions, again we point out that the less people you have per acre, the more vacant land our buses have to pass,, and to serve them with an equal fare is not possible, when you have 3.75 persons per acre in Scarborough, Etobicoke with 4.47 per acre, North York with 4.50 per acre. We cannot give the same kind of rapid transit service there and tie up the money that we can in the dense area of the City of Toronto, which runs between 60 and 73 persons per acre. Just imagine 4.50 per acre compared to 60 and 73 per acre. So you can see why there would be some complaints against us and why transportation cannot be supplied for the same fare.

The following information might be termed an A.B.C. of the Bloor Subway question and is a condensation of statistics and other factors with respect thereto. It shows the growth of traffic on Yonge Street and the Yonge Subway over the years 1939 to 1958; the growth of traffic on Bloor Street and Danforth Avenue and the increasing importance of those streets with respect to the next extension of rapid transit services. The growth of metropolitan population since 1930 and a forecast of future growth to 1980 shows that most of it will be concentrated in the tributary areas to the proposed northeast, northwest and University-East-West-Bloor Subway. This is the growth compared with pre-war conditions. Maximum hour transit traffic on Yonge Street has increased from just over 100% at the City Limits to 369% at the peak load point just south of Bloor. North of Eglinton 102%. South of Eglinton 267% —an increase from 1939 to 1958. North of St. Clair 199%, south of St. Clair 258%. North of Bloor 273%. South of Bloor 369%. Part of this was diverted from other lines because the subway does draw in part of the traffic from other routes downtown, but a large part is also due to the tremendous increase in population in the interval in the area tributary to Yonge Street, which increased from about 275,000 in 1939 to 430,000 in 1958; an increase of 155,000 or 57%. It is anticipated this area population will increase to 535,000 by 1965 and 695,000 by 1980. Since the Yonge Subway is already carrying about 75% of its rated capacity in maximum hours, it is imperative that steps to be taken now to provide relief and some reserve capacity for the future, as well as giving equal consideration to those rapidly developing northwest and northeast sections of Metro.

Toronto's transit traffic pattern of the last twelve or thirteen years, and particularly during the last five years, indicates a relatively high increase in uptown-crosstown traffic compared with the lower, more established routes. This pattern has been influenced to a great extent by, (1) the movement of some industries to suburban locations, (2) the movement of commercial offices to uptown locations and, (3) the great growth in suburban Metro area to the northeast and the northwest with relatively little to the west and east. A comparison of total transit traffic at eight check points on each of Bloor Street or Danforth Avenue and Queen Street east or west shows that, between 1943 and 1955, traffic on Bloor Street increased 13%, while that on Queen Street decreased 12%, compared to an overall decrease in transit traffic in the centre area of only 6%.

Although a subway on Bloor Street is a proven factor now, this city must have and must continue to have, at least one mile of subway per year built in order to keep up with the requirements of handling transit riders at reasonable cost in the area. It should be noted that the 1955 figure of Bloor passengers handled is about 85% of the comparable daily passengers handled on the Yonge Subway in 1955. It is anticipated that the Bloor Subway even at the outset would handle at least 50% more passengers per day than the Bloor and Danforth street cars that are already loaded to capacity and are up to over 12,000 per hour, although the speed on Bloor Street is less than seven miles per hour. The heaviest point on the Bloor car line is at the Prince Edward Viaduct, and a cordon count shows that in the ten-year period from 1940 to 1950, transit passengers crossing the viaduct increased 76%, largely as a result of wartime conditions. However, despite the great post-war increase in the use of automobiles, transit passengers crossing the Viaduct in 1950 were still 52% greater than in 1940, while the Metro area population has increased 49% in the same 15-year period.

I will conclude, Mr. President, by saying that while some people think that in some cities in the United States, transit is supposed to have slipped, I say they themselves have permitted it to slip. The Transit Commission you have today and the Metropolitan Council have certainly knuckled down to the task of safe-guarding transit and safeguarding the needs of the 60% of the population who depend on public transit, and because of this I say that this area is being well served.

The future augurs well when it is in the hands of people who are anxious, willing and able to continue to make transit a great partner in this Metropolitan area.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Marvin Gelber.

"SOME CONSIDERATIONS IN CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY"

An Address by

THE HONOURABLE PAUL MARTIN
Member of Parliament for Essex East

Thursday, January 29, 1959

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. Bruce Legge.

LT.-COL. LEGGE: We are pleased to welcome once again to this platform the Honourable Paul Martin. In February, 1955, Mr. Martin delineated for us Canada's importance as a world partner and said, "The Empire Club of Canada, which takes its name from history's most successful association of free nations, is a singularly appropriate forum for the expression of the ideal of brotherhood in the community, national and international sense. For in the Commonwealth, as in the Empire before it, there has been nurtured a genuine partnership among men of many continents who share a common devotion and a common love of freedom and justice". Four years ago that observation was true and now in 1959 when the resurgence of the Commonwealth as an international success is universally accepted, we are delighted to have Mr. Martin give us his informed opinion of 'Some Considerations of Canadian Foreign Policy'.

For many years the name of the Honourable Paul Martin has been a household word from coast to coast in Canadian politics, and he achieved fame as the Minister of National Health and Welfare at a time when everyone in the West was concerned with personal security. For ten momentous years from December, 1946, until the troubles of June, 1957, he was the efficient leader and administrator of one of the great departments of the Government of Canada. Yet throughout that period he retained his expertness in foreign affairs. As long ago as 1936 he was Chairman of the Canadian Delegation to the World Youth Congress in Geneva and in 1938 he was a delegate to the League of Nations. In 1946 he was a Canadian delegate to the first General Assembly of the United Nations and afterwards a representative to five subsequent Assemblies. On two occasions he has also been a member of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, a delegate to the Conference of the International Labour Office, and in 1955 he represented Canada at the Five Power Disarmament meetings in New York.

Mr. Martin's international interests were stimulated by his early education which took place in both Ontario and Quebec. He then attended famous universities in four countries—St. Michael's College in the University of Toronto; Osgoode Hall Law School; Harvard University; Trinity College, Cambridge; and the School of International Studies in Geneva, Switzerland. He was always a scholarship student and later, a university lecturer. For his academic prowess and public services he has been given honorary doctorates in law by many great Universities—Michigan, Dalhousie, Toronto, Queen's, Montreal, Dartmouth, John Carroll, Bishop's, and the University of Western Ontario. As soon as he was called to the Bar in 1928 Mr. Martin tried his hand in politics and received his only defeat in a by-election in Renfrew North. In 1935 he was elected for the riding of Essex East and through political feast and famine he has held it continuously ever since. In Parliament, Mr. Martin is in every sense, a 'House of Commons man' and although he is also an ardent partyman, he is respected by the members of all parties. At the present time he is a powerful member of the Opposition's shadow government and I am sure he must often ponder the paradoxical dangers of being such a good opponent that the government is thus kept in power—because Disraeli said 'No Government can be long secure without a formidable Opposition'.

Gentlemen, I am honoured to present the Honourable

Paul Martin who will now speak to The Empire Club of Canada about "Some Considerations of Canadian Foreign Policy".

MR. MARTIN: I am honoured by being asked for the second time to speak to The Empire Club of Canada, and what I said on that previous occasion about this organization, I could easily repeat today. As the President has noted, the meaning and evolutionary character of the Commonwealth, particularly in these difficult days, serves to justify its importance as an instrument for the preservation of peace in the world, and the unity of those who are its constituents.

The Commonwealth has assumed even greater importance as the days have gone by. That importance is seen all over and, more particularly in the Far East, because of the growing importance of India, Ceylon and of Pakistan and of the other constituents outside of this continent, Australia and Europe.

Now, I had indicated I would speak to you today about some aspects of Canadian foreign policy, and I beg leave to modify that title, so that I can speak to you about some aspects of foreign affairs in relation to the situation in what is inaccurately described sometimes as the Middle East.

I recently paid a visit to Lebanon, to the United Arab Republic, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Israel, and today I thought I might give you some of my impressions and possibly some conclusions from this visit.

Mr. Ernest Bevin told a number of us in 1946, at the first meeting of the United Nations, that the two most dangerous spots in the world were Korea and the Middle East. I think that events since that time have proved the wisdom of his prophecy.

Last summer we were all agitated by events in Lebanon, and by circumstances and conditions in Iraq. For four or five years we have been troubled by the policy of the United Arab Republic, as presently constituted, and by Egypt as it was before union with Syria under the Presidency of President Nasser. While the position there now is relatively tranquil, history tells us that periodically eruptions take place in that particular sector that cause us all the greatest concern.

I decided at the end of the Session last year to go to the Middle East myself to meet some of the personalities in charge of the governments of these various countries, and to try to learn by contact with the people as well as by talking to their leaders, what the situation is so far as I could assess it. I was anxious to find out, too, what role Canada could play in an area where her commercial interests are very limited, and in an area with which we have had such little contact.

At one time it was the policy of the Government of Canada to rely entirely upon Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom for the determination of policy in that area, but it seems to me because of the new character of Canada's status among the nations of the world, that we cannot in justice to ourselves and this situation, continually rely upon others for the formulation of policy here at home, or for determining the kind of cooperative or concerted action we are prepared to take along with our friends, particularly with Great Britain and the United States.

Increasingly the United Nations takes on added prestige, authority and achievement. Many of our international obligations now flow from our commitments to the Charter of the United Nations and perhaps this is exemplified in no area more effectively than in the Middle East itself.

I first went to Lebanon in the month of July last, when the President of the United States had caused some 12,000 Marines to be despatched to the shores of the Mediterranean, to provide tranquility in respect to a form of aggression which was alleged to have taken place on the part of Syria in her relations with that little country.

I had talks with President Chamoun, the then President of that country, and then with his successor, the present President, General Fuad Shehab. I am sure that under the present President the policy of the Government of Lebanon will be to seek to have recognized, at least in an unofficial way, the traditional role of neutrality which Lebanon has sought to exercise between Europe, the West generally, and her Arab neighbours. That, too, was in some measure the policy of President Chamoun, but President Chamoun did not agree with the declarations of intent on the part of great Arab leaders. He had not supported the leadership of Gamal Abdel Nasser. He did not believe the form of unity which he advocated was in the interests of the Arab people or the interests of Lebanon.

So I began my peregrinations in the Middle East by talking to these two men and to other leaders in Lebanon. Later I met President Nasser himself, whom I was privileged to see and talk to on two occasions.

President Nasser is a young man, not yet forty, a man whose career has been entirely spent in the Army and who, along with General Naguib, and some junior officers was responsible for the successful revolution which ended with the deposition of King Farouk.

I said to President Nasser, "I suppose you realize that next to Mr. Khrushchev you are, on the American continent, perhaps the most unpopular individual to be found at the head of any government in the world today?"

He acknowledged that this was likely the case. He deplored this fact . . . it was an unjust reputation . . . it was an accusation that couldn't be substantiated with justice and it was one that overlooked the needs and the problems of Egypt itself.

He said, "We are a very poor country. We have the right to aspire to the same kind of nationalism and to urge the same kind of unity among the Arab people that Western and other countries claim for themselves. What we want is a commitment neither to the West nor to the East. We want to be able to realize what I call 'modern Arab Nationalism'. We want to be able to have a unity with other Arab peoples throughout the world, and particularly in that sector where there are some ninety million Arabs.

"If our relations with the Western world have deteriorated, that is in large measure due to the policies of certain of the great powers in the Western world. The United States refused us wheat and so did Canada. They refused to sell us wheat except on terms that we could not meet. They refused to supply us with arms. They denied us the opportunity of having the kind of medical care we need for our people. The Americal Government refused to carry out its commitment to build the Aswan Dam. The American Government interfered with the voluntary organization known as CARE and its program to feed Egyptian children.

"Faced with this situation, what else was there for me to do," said President Nasser, "but to seek assistance from the only other quarter available, the Soviet Union? From the Soviet Union we got arms; we were given wheat; we were given all the other things which the United States, in particular, denied us, and in accepting these things we have only given lip service to the matter of national survival."

I suggested to him that possibly he had become so committed to the Soviet Union that he would now find himself a prisoner of their intentions and their objectives. He didn't think so. He thought that those of us in the West failed to realize that in accepting aid from the Soviet Union there was no acknowledgment of support for the ideology practised in the Soviet Union itself.

I couldn't help but notice before my first interview began that there were on the mantle piece of the room in which we first talked, six photographs. There was one of Mao Tse-tung, one of Mr. Nehru, and of other leading figures, but no representation of any personality from the West. Was any deduction to be made from this fact, I asked him. He told me "No, the fact is that those gentlemen whose pictures are on my mantle-piece are the heads of governments and countries who have extended to me the opportunity of visiting them. I would have no hesitation in putting up in a prominent place in this room the picture of the head of the Government of the United States or of any other country if I was given the same pleasure of the welcome which I found in these understanding nations."

Now, there can be no doubt that one of the real troublesome provocations in this whole area of the Middle East is the attitude of the United Arab Republic, and of President Nasser, in particular, to that impressive and dynamic State of Israel. Many people think that the possible settlement between Egypt, on the one hand, or the Arab countries on the one hand and Israel, is not likely to be realized in our time.

I am satisfied, not only from these talks with the President of the United Arab Republic, but from other things that given patience, given the right climate, this problem of Israel-Egyptian or Arab relations is not insoluble. It will require a great deal of patience; it will require a great deal of understanding on the part of all nations, and particularly the nations of the West, but I believe, given those conditions, we can look for a settlement in the not too distant future in respect to this matter that undoubtedly is one of the irritating points and dissatisfactions in this very difficult situation, a situation which if it were allowed to run wild could cause the greatest dislocation throughout the world.

I am satisfied, too, that many of our declarations against President Nasser are unjustified and cannot be substantiated by the facts. I realize that many of the charges against him are true. A form of indirect aggression that takes place over Cairo radio, that urges, as it did while I was there, the assassination of King Hussein of Jordan, is a form of provocation that under no circumstances can be justified, but I think we have to look at the whole picture with wisdom and with a measure of patience and if we do, I think we can provide a solution.

The charge that Nasser is a Communist; the charge that he supports Communist ideology, I think cannot be substantiated. He told me, "I do not drink. I do not drink because I am a Moslem. I believe in God. How could I be called a Communist? The Communist Party is not recognized in the United Arab Republic. Our country is not Communist. Why do you say, and why do others say I am a Communist, or we are giving undue support to the Soviet Union?"

I must say when we take into account the reasons for the integration with Egypt of Syria, we can recognize that the motivating influence in the initiative taken by Syria for integration with Egypt was because Syria had felt herself, or at least some of her leaders had felt, that Syria had become dangerously committed to the Soviet Union. So one of the reasons why President Nasser accepted union with Syria ahead of schedule, seemingly, is because of this very danger itself.

He said, "I don't want Jordan". At that time everyone said Jordan was next. You remember Her Majesty's Government had sent British troops into Jordan a few days after the assassination of King Feisal in Iraq, and after the brutal assassination of Nuri-as-Said, his Prime Minister. Everyone thought that the incident in Iraq would likely be followed by incidents of the same kind in Jordan.

There is no question about it, Nasser had his eye on Jordan and if he interfered with that country, what was Israel going to do? He told me, and events have since subsequently confirmed what he said, "I do not want Jordan. The American Government is now being asked (this was about the middle of September) to furnish King Hussein with some hundreds of millions of dollars to enable him to carry out the program concerning that little country. Why would I want Jordan—a tremendous economic liability and burden that would be imposed on me and my country would be such as to warrant the conclusion that it was certainly a very unwise decision if taken on the part of the United Arab Republic."

Now, I wouldn't want anyone to think that I am forming these judgments or making these assessments on the basis of two conversations with President Nasser, but I frankly do acknowledge that whatever conclusions I do reach have been assisted by these talks and by the impression which he created in my mind.

I went to Iraq and had a conversation with President and Defence Minister, General Abdul Karim el-Kassem, six weeks after the revolution in a state which had all the intrigues which follow from a bloody revolution, and from a state that, like the Arab Republic, is in every sense of the word, a police state.

The general view was that the revolution in Iraq would lead to some form of union between that rich oil-producing country and the United Arab Republic. This was the next step and everywhere we went in Iraq there certainly were some indications of a very strong appreciation of the leadership which President Nasser has given to the whole business of Arab renascence in our time.

Prime Minister Kassem impressed me as the man likely capable of formulating independent judgment, although I talked to certain members of his government who clearly advocated union with Egypt on the same basis as that which prevails between Egypt and Syria. The same resentment against the western world was to be found from President Kassem as I found from President Nasser.

As to the Baghdad Pact, that was psychologically offensive to the Arab people. It was another manifestation of the power of Empire and of colonialism which the people in the Arab world, he said, no longer wished to see realized or continued.

"What we want," said President el-Kassem, "is to build an independent state, free of Western and Soviet Union entanglements."

"But did your revolution not receive great assistance from the Communist powers?"

"By no means did the Communists share in any impressive way in the success of our revolution. This was a revolution against men, against a regime that had failed to take into account the interests of the people of Iraq and it was one that was not dictated by the Soviet Union or by hidden Comunist cells in Iraq."

And subsequent events, while not altogether clear in their full perspective, do support Soviet declarations which Prime Minister el-Kassem unfolded to me. Now we know that the Number Two man of the Government, Mr. Aref, has been tried by a military tribunal, found guilty of treason to the State, and we do know he was one of the strong protagonists of full integration with the U.A.R.

Jordan . . . the tragedy of Jordan is a country divided against itself—an artificial state that came into being largely as the result of recommendations of that great statesman, Mr. Churchill, in 1921. Everyone admires the courage and adventurous qualities of King Hussein, but it would be untrue reporting to say that all the people of that country of a million and a half were fully in support of and fully loyal to King Hussein. But as a result of the influence of Dag Hammarskjold, the successful Secretary-General of the United Nations, a measure of tranquility will persist in Jordan for the foreseeable future. Instability in that country, or any revolution in that country would have the deepest consequences, not only for Egypt, not only for Israel, but for the whole of the Middle East. What force outside of the United Nations was not able to do, the Secretary-General, who was travelling in that area, was able to bring about.

I did not know when I went to the Middle East that Mr. Hammarskjold was going to be visiting the same personalities and travelling over the same area. My visit, because of my friendship over the years, was enriched because I was able to learn directly and indirectly of discussions which he had with President Nasser, President Chamoun, President el-Kassem, and with Mr. Ben-Gurion.

In the course of this trip I felt that we in the West have lost a lot of friends. We have lost a lot of friends because I think we have failed to understand fully the circumstances and the forces that were at play in that very troubled area.

We, ourselves, have always recognized the principle of self-determination. We cannot deny it to others if we assert it for ourselves. So I think the President of the United States was right when on the 13th of August last, speaking in the United Nations on the problems of the Middle East, said that the West must give sincere evidence of its belief in the right of all of these states in the Middle East to achieve national independence and to advocate and achieve, if that is possible, Arab unity in any legitimate form which they propose. This does not condone the indirect aggression over the Cairo radio.

The last personality I saw was Mr. David Ben-Gurion, of Israel, with whom I spent almost a day in the southern regions of the Negev desert. Mr. Ben-Gurion is undoubtedly one of the very great men of our time and certainly must be regarded as one of the truly great fathers of that little State of Israel which now is about ten years old . . . a man of the greatest horizons . . . wise statesmanlike judgment, a capacity to understand that others have problems and others have rights. While he is prepared to recognize these unreservedly, he is tenacious in championing what he believes is right for the State of which he is now the first Prime Minister, and undoubtedly the dominating figure. He is prepared to recognize that President Nasser had legitimate claims, the Arab peoples had legitimate aspirations and he joined in the belief that difficult as it is this problem of Israel-Arab relations is not an impossible one.

He told me at one time the Mufti of Jerusalem, long before statehood had been accorded to Israel, had agreed on a population settlement in Israel which I think in itself reflects the kind of agreement that can come about between Israel and the Arab nations, notwithstanding the fact that those who agree with this possibility also postulate as an essential condition the necessity of limiting population in Israel. Whether or not that is to be the case only time will tell.

Others in Israel had various views. I wonder if you remember the views of one of the most distinguished parliamentarians in that country who said he thought they had made a great mistake and that there had been unnecessary provocation, and because of the advent of the inter-ballistic missiles, it would be wise for both the West and the East to recognize the diminishing quality of the Middle East in terms of strategy and military objective . . . would it not be better to encourage neutralization of the whole area rather than encourage continuous competition between the East and the West in the whole area?

Now, Canada, I believe, has an opportunity of playing a useful role in mediation and accommodation in this particular area. We have few commercial interests, certainly not incomparable to the growing commercial interests of West Germany or of Greece or of Italy, but as a member of United Nations, we have an opportunity, and I think an obligation to play an increasingly important role there, as we have during the past five years in South and Southeast Asia.

We have recently strengthened our personnel in our diplomatic missions and in some cases we have raised their status. It seems to me now, having in mind that Iraq is at any rate the second most important Arab country in this area, that the time has come when we should establish a diplomatic mission in that country, important not only as an oil-producing country, but as a country which along with Egypt, can play an important role in bringing about satisfactory solutions in a situation which could easily engulf us all.

I am satisfied from my experience in Iraq that it is important for us now to give consideration to the establishment of a diplomatic mission, so that along with the United States and Great Britain, we can formulate policies in concert with them, and certainly that is desirable as a member of the United Nations. . . . We can in that way play an increasingly important role.

Our role in international affairs now is such that we cannot refuse to take such courses but that will bring us into agreement with either the United States or Great Britain. We have with both of these countries a basic philosophy and a basic attitude that cannot and will not be disturbed but this does not mean, if we are to carry out our obligations as a member of the United Nations, that we should not formulate our own judgment. Where the United States, and particularly the United States at the present time, is unable to carry on in the role of mediation, I am satisfied from what I have seen and from what I know that we are afforded an opportunity of doing that very thing.

I say again that this problem, this difference between the Arab world and Israel is not an insoluble one. I am satisfied that notwithstanding the difficulties of the refugee problem, and notwithstanding the difficulties that prevail between members of the Arab League and certain proposals which they make in contradiction to one another, notwithstanding the unity they present on other aspects, and notwithstanding the hostility against the West at the present time, that we can by careful statesmanship emerge from a situation that is now difficult to one that can become more orderly and less disturbing.

We must win the sympathies of the Arab world. Otherwise, we shall lose the Arab world. We shall lose it to our greatest enemy, the Soviet Union. These Arab nations have a sincere ambition, sometimes exaggerated, possibly, in the light of the interpretation we give, but their desires and ambitions have counterparts in our own history. They want a greater degree of unity among themselves. They may not all agree as to the form of that unity but Islam's and the Arab language itself are common denominators that we cannot fail to recognize. We must assist them in improving their awful living standards. These are legitimate ambitions which the West must recognize and as we know now, the decision of Her Majesty's Government to release to Egypt certain of her sterling holdings, gives evidence of a rapprochement between Egypt on the one hand, and Great Britain on the other, that will be welcomed by most people in the world who wish to see peace preserved in our time.

We have suffered from certain misconceptions—from the mistaken idea that if Nasser were overthrown tranquillity would reign in the Middle East. We should realize that history and the mercurial temperament of the Arab world, not Nasser, certainly not Nasser alone, are responsible for the churnings among the Arab people. We should recognize the Middle East cannot be dominated by the traditional middle classes that have held sway for centuries. The middle classes now are no longer representative of the aspirations of the Arab people. These are some of the misconceptions under which we have suffered.

We must establish as a basic postulate in these new relations in the Arab world, the clear fact that we must continue and will continue to look upon Israel as a new state, entitled to be recognized as sovereign and that there must be on the part of no Arab nation any effort to liquidate her or drive her people into the sea.

That essential basis of the new policy which we believe we have to develop toward the Arab world and the Middle East is the first policy upon which we can build others that will recognize and bring about for the Arab world what they have a right to ask and what they have a right to demand without in any way interfering with our desire to see the continued sovereign existence of Israel as a state that now gives her people the asylum and liberty which I believe the people have won for themselves by their achievements alone in Israel.

Any intervention that takes place from now on must be only through the United Nations. Any great power intervention can cause us only added difficulty and increased misunderstanding. We must look upon the United Nations as having thus far afforded in the Middle East the best demonstration of its successful operations to date in the political field. Under the United Nations we had the observation group in Lebanon that served as a stabilizing factor in October, the operations of the United Nations Emergency Force in the Gaza strip, keeping the peace between Israel and Egypt, the work of UNRRA in the refugee camps, the work of the United Nations operating between Jordan and Egypt. These are all demonstrations of the effectiveness of the United Nations in that area.

And, finally, the tremendous achievement of the Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjold, during the month of September last. Many thought that the only way peace could be preserved would be by the presence of American troops in Lebanon and Her Majesty's troops in Jordan. The United Nations by a carefully considered well supported resolution, was able to bring about a withdrawal of the forces of these two countries and in their place was placed an idea which in no way represents the use of force, but the conscience of mankind—the power of the United Nations. The authority of the United Nations is respected, by Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, and by President Gamal Abdul Nasser, in the United Arab Republic.

There, it seems to me, is the key to the future, and in all of this woe a country like Canada with close affiliations with Great Britain, with the Commonwealth and with the United States can play a very useful role of accommodation and mediation.

I recognize, Mr. President, that this is only one of the fronts of trouble in the world. Berlin, the Far East, other situations will creep in, day to day and month to month, but this one will emerge again and we have now behind us the lessons of last summer—lessons which clearly reveal that the successful form of intervention must be only through the United Nations. In the formulation of the policy of the United Nations, the member states can play a great part. It is because I believe that our country can play a useful role that I give you these impressions, and I put forward these submissions.

Peace is something that we have to strive for on many fronts. This is a troublesome front, but it is one which affords our country a great opportunity to make its contribution to the preservation of peace in one of the troubled areas of our world.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Alexander Stark, Q.C.

“CANADA’S ARTISTIC BOOM”

An Address by

CELIA FRANCA
Artistic Director, National Ballet of Canada

Thursday, February 5, 1959

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. Bruce Legge.

LT.-COL LEGGE: John Dryden wrote this biting line on the famous Duke of Buckingham—‘In squandering wealth was his peculiar art.’ Now in Canada there used to be a school of thought which lamented that all money spent on Art was a squandering of wealth. However, times must have changed because today Miss Celia Franca is to give us some good news about ‘Canada’s Artistic Boom’. Indeed, there are few people in this Dominion with a closer association with Canadian artistic success than Celia Franca whose faith founded the National Ballet Company of Canada and whose inspiring genius has sped the Company from triumph to triumph.

Before coming to Canada Miss Franca was regarded as one of the brilliant young talents of the flourishing ballet world of Britain. She had been a member of the creatively modern Ballet Rambert, the ballet mistress of the Metropolitan Ballet, and a star with the Sadler’s Wells Ballet whom Ninette de Valois called the “greatest dramatic dancer the Wells ever had”. With the National Ballet she brings great artistry to such roles as “Giselle” and as the sophisticated operatic star in “Offenbach in the Underworld”. Miss Franca is also a noted choreographer who created new ballets for television on the B.B.C. and for the Sadler’s Wells Theatre Ballet.

The lovely Miss Franca has been described by one learned critic as "part of the glowing history of ballet in England" and she has given the National Ballet Company of Canada such a fine artistic discipline and so inspired the Company with her own ideals that she has brought it to the highest level of international recognition. With a rich heritage of performance and background, Miss Franca is now able to stage in the repertoire of the National Ballet the great classics like "Swan Lake", "The Nutcracker" and "Les Sylphides".

Since the war Canada has received artistic enrichment from many countries, including Britain. When Dr. Tyrone Guthrie was persuading Sir Alec Guinness to act in the Stratford Festival, he wrote "You and I have a chance in this project to make an exceedingly conspicuous, and therefore potentially useful gesture in favour of Anglo-Canadian relationship". I am certain that neither Alec Guiness nor Celia Franca came to perform in Canada for reasons of international policy alone, but because they could give new artistic accomplishments to the already spectacular growth of the Canadian Theatre. Miss Franca has been acclaimed by the public which supports her productions at the box office, by the critics who have found her attainments notable, and by the B'Nai B'Rith who have honoured her as the 'Woman of the Year' for 1958-59.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am delighted to present to The Empire Club of Canada the almost legendary ballet personage in whom we have such pride and pleasure, Miss Celia Franca who can speak with the unsurpassed authority of great achievements on "Canada's Artistic Boom".

MISS FRANCA: The picture of a talented artist starving in a garret must be familiar to us all. We have all heard the theory that great art can only be achieved by depriving the artist of all but the bare necessities of life so that his attention will not be distracted from the "creative process". Most artists disagree with this theory and believe that certain great composers and painters of the past pulled through despite appalling circumstances and not because of them. It is refreshing to note that Canadians have decided to take art out of the garret and to accord the artist not only adequate means but also dignity and recognition of the kind, for instance, as your invitation to me to speak to you today.

An indication of the growing interest in the arts is seen in the work of the Conference of the Arts which is made up of organizations and individuals from across Canada working in many different fields towards the common end of improving the quality of art produced and developing public understanding of the artist and his problems. Under the leadership of the Conference, local arts councils are springing up in many cities. These councils provide the interested citizen with a way in which he may give effect to his interest. There are also thousands of people working steadily to further their favourite art form through symphony committees, art gallery committees, opera committees, ballet guilds and a host of similar organizations across the country.

All of this activity, of course, springs from the necessity to supply the country's demands for a rounded way of living. This young country has already established itself materially and now has more free time to spend on widening its interests through art media. In backing up this interest Canadian achievement is remarkable.

In the art of painting we have an exciting tradition. The work of the Group of Seven almost forty years ago has been described as the first distinctively Canadian movement. Their controversial work was largely concerned with the expression of the Canadian landscape. The interesting thing to me is that Canadian painting did not stop at this expression of nationalism but continued to develop. In recent years, more and more of our painters have been going abroad to study and paint and have returned to Canada, bringing with them fresh ideas and a keen awareness of the international world of art. The development of abstract painting, to use one example, has been enriched by experience gained elsewhere, yet our artists have not become mere slavish imitators of an international school. After studying and absorbing the methods and styles of art abroad they are unselfconsciously achieving an individual indigenous style.

The number of artists at work and the vigour and variety of their painting is amazing: many of the names have become almost household words—Alfred Pellan, Alex Colville, Jack Nichols, Ghitta Caiserman . . . the list could go on for the rest of my time. The people of Canada evidently are tremendously interested. There are over 125 museums and art galleries in Canada which draw an annual attendance of something over three million and these institutions receive and spend more than two million dollars each year. In the last few years, many new galleries have sprung up—a new building in Hamilton; a gallery in Jordan, Ontario; in Fredericton, New Brunswick; in Regina and Victoria, to mention a few. But more impressive to my way of thinking is the sale of paintings. More Canadians are buying pictures than ever before. The Toronto Gallery at its annual sales now reports three times as many paintings being sold as there were when these sales started twelve years ago and at higher prices. In some of our new housing developments it is becoming increasingly common for pictures to be sold together with the houses.

All this activity expresses a healthy relation between the artist and his public and, while we often hear that the artist cannot exist without customers. The private customers from the general public are the final arbiters. Besides, we must remember that art is a way of communication and few artists enjoy talking to themselves—in fact, we thrive on appreciation.

The initiative which Canadians display in matters of art is worth noting. Although the Government of Canada could not find the funds to purchase certain paintings recently requested by The National Gallery, I am glad to see that the Toronto Gallery suffers from no such limitations. Undeterred by the fact that they have no money the directors have arranged to buy a magnificent painting by Tinteretto on the instalment plan. It comes to the Toronto Gallery with the provision that if it is to stay here, the public who wish to see it will have to subscribe the value of one hundred thousand dollars. I have no doubt that the people of Toronto will respond to the challenge and that the community will be richer by one important picture because of the daring of imaginative Canadian art lovers.

In music, too, we have seen stirring development in recent years. Prior to 1947 there was never given in Canada a concert of works composed by Canadians. Since then there has been at least one each year. Symphony orchestras in Montreal, Vancouver and Saskatoon have all commissioned recent Canadian scores. In Winnipeg this year, the orchestra will play six Canadian works in ten concerts—a very refreshing record of the coming of age of our native composers, and the C.B.C. (which had formerly commissioned works only for special occasions such as a Royal visit) now has a policy of ordering as a matter of course and has commissioned six new works for the simple purpose of providing good music.

The development of the Canadian League of Composers and the establishment in the last few months of the Canadian Music Centre which will be a central library and information service on Canadian scores, marks a tremendous step forward. Like Canadian painting, our music shows the current influences of the United States and Europe. In short, our composers are working towards an international standard of excellence and again are achieving an expression of their own. Our interpretive musical artists—Jon Vickers, Lois Marshall, Glenn Gould and many others—have scored enormous successes in Europe and Russia. These people are Canadian exports of the finest quality. Amongst our exports is, of course, our own National Ballet. We, too, are happy to have received the approval of critics and audiences throughout the U.S.A. and in Mexico, and we are proud to be interpreting Canada abroad to people who have long regarded this country as the place where you get rich quickly by purchasing shares in a gold mine at a penny each.

Perhaps the vigorous development of the creative arts in Canada is most obvious in the theatre.

In the last ten years there has grown up a theatrical community in Canada which has challenged the imagination and earned the respect of people across the country. A few years ago, the only professional theatre which Canadians could see came from New York or London. How different the situation is now. In Montreal, Gratien Gelinas, in his own theatre, the Comedie Canadienne, is producing works for a full Fall, Winter and Spring season. The Theatre du Nouveau Monde performs steadily through a full season, giving unsurpassed performances of Moliere and bringing Canadians the work of their own playwrights, such as Marcel Dube.

In Stratford, Ontario, the Festival has become a major industry. Shakespeare's plays are presented in a new dimension on an ingeniously designed stage. Here, too, the productions reach a high international standard, yet achieve a distinction of performance which has almost become a trademark. In fact, one might guess that the disappointment which the Canadian public sensed in the recent performance of the Old Vic Company could be attributed to the more virile style of acting and presentation to which we have become acclimatized through our visits to Stratford, Ontario. In Toronto, the Crest Theatre continues year after year to give us highly entertaining repertory theatre. The Opera Festival Association presents an annual Opera Season, and fresh musicals and revue such as Spring Thaw and Clap Hands pop up frequently. On the other side of the continent the Vancouver Festival has struck a high standard of excellence with its opera, music and theatre and after one season it seems clear that this daring adventure will be firmly established. This past year, The National Ballet appeared in eight provinces taking ballet of an international standard to people in our larger cities, on the stages of our major theatres. The Company has also performed in smaller centres such as Trail, British Columbia, and Edmundston, New Brunswick, playing in hockey arenas and school houses. Everywhere we met the same response—a vigorous interest and a sincere delight to find Canadian entertainment of professional calibre which is a joy to behold.

It is satisfying to observe that, as public demand and interest grows, the press of Canada is increasing the amount of space devoted to theatre, music and the other arts. Good theatre coverage is now what is called a circulation builder.

But one of the progress-retarding elements in theatrical touring is the shortage of theatres, although even in the creation of buildings our architects are making progress. New auditoria in Edmonton and Calgary have, at a stroke, practically doubled the number of legitimate theatres in

Canada. Vancouver will be next in the field with a new auditorium and Windsor and Toronto will follow close behind. (Our ballet, for instance, will next year perform several days in the New Windsor Auditorium instead of the usual performance on a stage the size of a postage stamp.) In Montreal, too, plans are under way for the construction of an ambitious concert hall-cum-opera house.

It now seems possible that we shall within the foreseeable future have a chain of theatres across the country in which the work of our Canadian producers—and it is to be hoped that of foreign producers also—can be seen by all of the people, not just those living in the densely populated areas of Ontario and Quebec. Needless to say, the quality of performances will improve under the vastly superior facilities we hope these new buildings will provide.

It is so exciting, while on the subject of architecture, to watch new buildings taking shape—buildings such as the British Columbia Electric offices in Vancouver and the Imperial Oil Building in Toronto. How satisfying that the Canadian public now accepts our fine architects as artists in their own right. No longer is an architect thought of as simply a master carpenter. These days even governments are prepared to give the architect a chance—witness the design competition for a new city hall of Toronto; and I would think that the controversy created by the result of this competition was clear evidence of the public interest and its desire for the best that can be found.

It is perhaps a platitude to say that we see ourselves in the eyes of others, yet I venture to advance this old saw as an important part of the explanation of the development of the arts in Canada in recent years. Canadians have been trying to achieve a standard of work which would meet the cold criticism of the international world. Narrow nationalism was not good enough for either artist or public. We have taken our best work abroad where it has been pronounced excellent and this assurance has given confidence to the Canadians at home.

Canadian painting first came to European attention in 1925 with an exhibition at Wembley but of recent years Canadian exhibitions abroad have increased remarkably. The first appearance of our painters at the Venice Biennale was in 1952 and we have been represented there regularly ever since. In 1956 the National Gallery at the request of the Smithsonian Institute organized a comprehensive show of abstract painting for circulation in the United States. In 1955 the Musee de l'Art Moderne honoured Alfred Pellan in a retrospective exhibition, and painters such as Riopelle, Borduas and Roloff Beny are as well known in Europe as they are in Canada.

I have already touched on our musical exports but I must say how proud I am to include in the National Ballet's repertoire two scores written by composer Harry Somers.

His ballets "Fisherman and His Soul" and "Ballad" are most successful abroad and when local impressarios ask me to present these ballets again they find my smugness positively sickening. This young composer, incidentally, has received a commission and award from the Koussevitsky Foundation. He will also be the first Canadian to have a composition played by the New York Philharmonic Orchestra which will this spring perform his Passacaglia and Fugue.

Two famous names in Canadian theatre are Wayne and Shuster who could hardly find a sponsor a short time ago. It is ironic to note that since their success on the Ed Sullivan Show they now have sponsors bidding against each other for the privilege of presenting them on the C.B.C.

We all know that the American public beats a steady procession along highways leading to our Stratford Festival during the summer and the Theatre du Nouveau Monde has been hailed in Brussels and Paris as one of the most skillful companies of actors of our time.

We can agree then that the arts in Canada are showing vigorous works and are receiving a large measure of popular support. The future then would seem assured. The voice of prophecy, however, must urge caution. According to the report of the Gordon Commission on Economic Affairs, Canadians are getting more numerous so that by the 1980's we will have a population of over twenty-five million who, lucky people, will work shorter hours than we do now. There will be more people with more money and more leisure time. Will we be able to meet the inevitably bigger demand for an increasingly lively programme

THE HON. PAUL MARTIN MEETING, JANUARY 29TH, 1959.

Celia Franca Meeting, February 5th, 1959. *From Left to Right:* Lt.-Col. B. J. Legge; Miss Celia Franca; Mrs. Legge and E. A. Goodman (hidden); Mrs. Goodman; Norman Campbell; Mrs. Campbell.

in the arts, or will we only be capable of providing a formula made up of nine-tenths import of second rate foreign material?

Our progress has been so rapid—our achievements attained so quickly, that we are now in danger of burning ourselves out. In the mad struggle for success we of the entertainment arts at least have been unable to devote enough time to the education of future artists. Already, there is a deficiency of skilled musicians and dancers. The public will no longer tolerate the technically weak and artistically naive. We would be secure enough were there a short cut to artistic excellence, but unfortunately it takes many years of arduous training before the talented youngster can reach professional standard after which must follow the inevitable period of apprenticeship. Only very gradually and very seldom does the true artist emerge. How much success have we had in the training of teachers? In my own field I must admit that from the student-teachers who have studied at the National Ballet Summer School over the past eight years I could select no more than five per cent who are capable of training a dancer from the beginning stages through to professional standard. Canada is lacking in professional schools of the arts. To guarantee a supply of high calibre ballet artists we must establish a permanent residential academy which will provide general school curriculum together with lessons in ballet and other subjects pertaining to ballet theatre. Many people even in our own profession do not realize that the education of a ballet dancer should include such subjects as elementary anatomy, comprehensive musical training, concentrated geometry to facilitate a sense of pattern, an advanced knowledge of literature from which ideas for scenarios can be drawn and so on. Certainly our ballet company today possesses some fine artists and I am very proud of them, but it is our duty to provide the next generation with the finest educational opportunities. In my opinion, the establishment of such a school is of paramount importance and must be accomplished as soon as funds are forthcoming. Even when we train students under these ideal conditions, only a small percentage is likely to make the grade if one can judge from results obtained in older countries where these schools have existed for years. So there is no time to be lost.

Speaking of theatrical arts in general, schools for stage managers, designers, carpenters, electricians and painters are required. These people need specialized training. The designer must be made not only to be aware of the limitations involved in designing scenery for ballet, opera or drama, but how also to take advantage of these limitations. A stage director must be taught that in planning a lighting plot for ballet, the dancer must at all times be clearly visible because the dancer's way of communication is through facial expression and body movement only. In legitimate theatre, the actor's body communication is aided by speech, therefore, more contrasted lighting effects may be used.

We must at the same time conduct a campaign to interest the public in the work which we artists are doing. It is not good enough to have symphony and ballet still popularly regarded as the preserve of the "long-hairs". Not that I am suggesting that we should label ourselves as "smooth" but it does seem to me a pity that a much larger sum of money is spent on advertising and promoting "rock and roll" than is spent on trying to interest young people in symphony. Their interest cannot be roused by conducting courses in the class room only, but they must be taken to the concert hall to hear the music.

We have found that students of any age are a wonderful audience for ballet.. Each year we are adding special matinees for students, and boards of education in Hamilton and London have decided that ballet is important enough in the education of their students to allow the children to leave school early to attend the theatre. In Toronto, the education authorities have become so interested that they have encouraged their staff in the schools to tell the students about performances and to help their students get tickets for these special matinees.

In any of the arts of which I am talking, we have to face one final bitter fact. They will not make a fortune for anyone. Certainly there is no possibility of the musician or the dancer becoming a wealthy parasite. Indeed, we have just barely brought these people down from the garret.

The development of these arts has been possible because public-spirited Canadian businessmen and women have been willing to undertake the responsibility of developing a healthy, artistic life for their countrymen. We now have the Canada Council which is a great help, but the Council cannot do more than supplement the work of the private supporters.

Wherever humans have achieved outstanding artistic accomplishment, we find that such accomplishment is the product of a combination, altogether too rare, of a gifted artist and an understanding patron. The successes in music and painting of the middle ages were a direct result of a combination of artist and church. In the renaissance, the arts flourished under the patronage of princes and merchants. In Canada the upsurge which we have witnessed in the past few years has resulted directly from the support of the business community for Canadian artists. Take any of the successful artistic endeavours you wish to name, whether it be an art gallery or a symphony, ballet or opera —you will find this combination—a group of businessmen who are prepared to accept the responsibility on behalf of the people and an artist who has the ability to create. At the risk of sounding parochial, I would like to cite the National Ballet as an outstanding example where a small group of men of affairs undertake the responsibility of financing one of the most expensive arts. The devotion and energy which these men have given and are giving makes me wonder where they find time to run their own businesses. There is no aspect of our work which does not receive the detailed scrutiny of highly skilled accountants, lawyers, bankers and men of business. The understanding of ballet which they have developed, added to the business skills which they represent have enabled us to produce a ballet company at an extraordinarily small cost. At the present time, about seventy-five per cent of our expenses are met by box-office receipts. The remainder must be found by way of financial support from citizens, private and corporate. Since it is not possible to operate a ballet company which will meet all of its expenses at the box office, this support is essential and the support which the National Ballet requires is small indeed when compared to that required by other similarly scaled companies. Perhaps a practical illustration will make clear what I mean when I speak about the devotion and intelligence displayed by our directors.

From the beginning they realized that if a theatrical organization was to be accepted in Canada, international recognition would first of all be essential. They understood that unless artists were consistently employed they could neither earn a living nor raise their standards. Therefore, as a Canadian tour alone could not provide a reasonable season of employment the directors decided that the ballet must needs be exported and with this in mind they set out to sell their product in the United States which was the closest foreign market. On the early appearances in the United States the critics agreed that the National Ballet was a fine company but the American public, while readily admitting the Canadian wheat and oil resources, incredulously turned its back on the idea of Canadian ballet. Consequently, box office results were very disappointing and losses very high. The directors of the National Ballet thought over carefully the problem of merchandising their product and decided that if the losses could be sustained by raising funds to cover them the Company could by continuous annual tours of the United States develop the audiences there. It is a tribute to their foresight that they found money to make those tours possible and that the market has, I'm pleased to report, responded almost exactly as predicted.

In the coming season, The National Ballet's fees in the United States will be the highest paid to any ballet company performing in that country, and while we are not making profits on our American tours, our losses in that country are now negligible by comparison with our losses in Canada, where we still have to face the present chronic condition of thinly populated towns and cities spaced too far apart.

So we see that it is the job of the professional to create the art and the job of the devoted amateur to give business advice, secure funds and help create the audience. The co-operation between the professional artist and the man of affairs is the best augury for the future.

I would also add that I can see no reason to be ashamed that the arts cannot pay their way on gate receipts. We do not ask that our universities, our libraries or our hospitals meet their expenses out of earnings. Surely it is also important that we have first rate music, painting and ballet. In the enjoyment of these arts we find ideas for the mind and refreshment for the spirit, which makes our country a more pleasant and interesting place in which to live.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Harold Lawson, First Vice-President of the Club.

"THE CROSSING OF ANTARCTICA"

An Address by

SIR VIVIAN FUCHS

Conqueror of Antarctica

Special dinner meeting in conjunction with the Toronto Artillery Officers' Association

Thursday, February 12, 1959

CHAIRMAN: Brigadier H. T. Airey, C.D., President of the Toronto Artillery Officers' Association.

Sir Vivian Fuchs was introduced by Lt.-Col. Bruce Legge, President of The Empire Club of Canada.

LT.-COL. LEGGE: This evening we are immensely honoured to have as our guest speaker, Sir Vivian Fuchs, the dauntless explorer who conquered the last untraversed continent in a magnificent history-making trek, from sea to sea, across the South Pole. Sir Vivian Fuchs is a man of action and his deeds will be proclaimed from the pages of many histories. He also possesses a British sense of humour and in his fascinating book, "The Crossing of Antarctica", I was amused to read that over the door of the Expeditions Headquarters in London was hung the Duke of Wellington's saying, "If I attempted to answer the mass of futile correspondence that surrounds me, I should be debarred from all serious business of campaigning." Sir Vivian obviously follows the Iron Duke's dictum because he has completed his campaign and because he does not answer many letters. This wonderful meeting has all been arranged by the magic of Sir Vivian's interested intermediaries.

To honour our speaker this evening, it is particularly fitting that the Toronto Artillery Officers' Association which has always exalted the military qualities of bravery, endurance and resolute duty should be associated with The Empire Club of Canada which has provided a famous Canadian forum of Commonwealth affairs for 56 years. Sir William Fuchs has by his courage, leadership and diligence, added a high lustre to the glories, and greatness and wisdom of the Commonwealth with his triumphs in Antarctica.

For many years Sir Vivian Fuchs has been intrigued by exploration and geology. He was educated at Brighton College and at St. John's College, Cambridge, which granted him a doctorate in Philosophy. As long ago as 1929 he was drawn to the frozen and unknown places when he went to East Greenland with the Cambridge University Expedition. For contrast, the following year he took part in several scientific expeditions to East and Central Africa. During the war he was in the Army from 1939 to 1946 and served in the North African Deserts. In 1947 he became the leader of the Falkland Islands Survey and by 1950 he was the Director of the Dependencies Scientific Bureau.

The great days of anticipation and preparation began in 1957 when he was designated the leader of the British Trans-Antarctic Expedition. Many imaginative and gallant men have long dreamed of crossing the cruel and almost endless desolation of the unknown Antarctic. In 1914 a noted Australian explorer of the Antarctic, Sir Donald Mawson, told the Empire Club that the unknown is everyone's enemy—and no one has so devastated the unknown in Antarctica as Sir Vivian Fuchs. In this miracle of determination and prowess Sir Vivian joins those unequalled few, Shackleton, Amundsen and the noble Captain Scott. Sir Vivian's feat can rightly be called one of the truly heroic and magnificent achievements of the century. This crossing of more than two thousand miles of unexplored snow and ice was made by a small group of men using the best of twentieth century tracked vehicles and single-engine aeroplanes together with the primitive and trusted dog teams. These men crossed mountain ranges and ice walls. They perilously skirted and sometimes dropped into treacherous crevasses camouflaged by thin veils of snow. They battled winds and unending snow and ice. They survived pea-soup fogs of pure white confusion. Sir Vivian's expedition is a proud, thrilling story of tireless men who spent two years of preparation before the final indomitable assault on the vast loneliness of Antarctica to discover a whole continent which no one had ever crossed before.

For his vast, scientific accomplishments, Sir Vivian has received many exalted recognitions, among them a knighthood from his Sovereign, the Gold Medal of the Royal Geological Society, and the renowned Hubbard Medal of the National Geographic Society from the President of the United States. Yet, when the crossing was completed, Sir Vivian was content to say, "The finest reward for all of us, for all the years of labor and all the long days on the journey, was a cable received at Scott Base from our patron, Her Majesty the Queen." In that message Her Majesty congratulated all the members of the expedition and said, "You have made a notable contribution to scientific knowledge and have succeeded in a great enterprise. Well done." Everyone in our two associations will say Amen to those words of the Queen.

I am honoured to introduce to The Empire Club of Canada and to the Toronto Artillery Officers' Association, Sir Vivian Ernest Fuchs, who will describe for us the Crossing of Antarctica—an epic adventure which will live as a legend for many other generations.

(Sir Vivian's address was illustrated by coloured slides and movies. The material following has been prepared from a transcript of his remarks, which were based upon the film and slides.)

SIR VIVIAN FUCHS: We chose to go in to the head of the Weddell Sea first, and to start our journey from there, because it was the most difficult place to get to. This was because it would have been very unwise to arrive at that point and find that no ship could get in to get us out. It would have been disappointing to have had to turn around and go back again. The base established was that called Shackleton in the Weddell Sea. The base was built on ice 1,300 feet thick, which we later found was 195 feet above sea level, and afloat on 3,000 feet of water. When we went south we found we had penetrated 700 miles of sea ice and it had taken five weeks to do it.

Many of us then went back to London to prepare more men, bring more men and more vehicles and aircraft and stores, and so on. Meanwhile, the task of the eight men who had stayed behind was to get on with building the base which we would occupy the following year. They lived in the box that the Sno-cat was packed in. It was about 20 feet by 9 feet by 7 feet. It was not intended as a dwelling, but that is how it was used for the whole of that winter because the weather conditions held them up in the building of a hut. They slept, incidentally, two men in each of four tents. This becomes somewhat chilly. The minimum temperature was 67 degrees below zero. The hut was designed to carry three hundred tons of snow on the roof.

The Norwegian-British-Swedish Expedition, a few years before, had experienced a weight of snow that drove the walls past the floor, rather reducing the head room. Therefore, we put the support in the centre of the floor in order to prevent this happening.

We have been talking about the base at Shackleton. At the time of which I am speaking we had no idea how we were going to go south, but we planned to get off the floating ice on to the land and from there to the highest plateau. Of course, where ice floats, whether it is two feet or thirteen hundred feet thick, it forms ridges and fractures all along the edge of the coast where it joins the solid ice on the shore. The cross patches represent crevassing on the Filchner Ice Shelf and these proved to be of particular interest to our route.

One of the occupations during the winter is keeping the dogs fed, and seal meat was stored for that purpose. The dogs by this time had been put under ground. We expected they would suffer severely, not only because of the cold and wind but because the wind kept the surface swept so clear of soft snow that they got insufficient to bury themselves and protect themselves from the weather. We cut a tunnel underground for the dogs. It was 140 feet long by 8 feet deep and 4 feet wide. In the walls we cut alcoves, alternating down the passageway, with each alcove harbouring one dog. Here they could see each other. There was no wind, and they were able to maintain the temperature of the tunnels themselves with their body heat. When it was minus 60 Fahrenheit outside, it was usually zero to plus 2 or 3 inside. This was purely dog body heat. The ceiling gradually descended as condensation from the breath of the dogs condensed on it. You can either brush it down your neck or wait until it starts to brush your head. The dogs also had electric light in the tunnel and they were very lucky dogs, indeed, for that winter.

There was incessant work at the base. Everyone was working until 11.00 or 12.00 at night all winter. In the major workshop where we were harbouring some Sno-cats or Weasels, we had electric welding, gas welding, and lathes, and so on, so we could do most jobs pretty well. You find one is continually mending things—making trail flags, mending clothing, and so on. Our South African meteorologist was a very solid chap, and an extremely hard worker. He had interior self-recording equipment, but he had to go out every three hours to observe outside conditions as well. One of the radio operators was Ralph Lenton, who has had seven winters in the Antarctic—a world record, I think. One goes by winters, not by summers. The radio equipment is 350 watts, but we were able to ring up a number and get in contact with a number of other expedition bases in the Antarctic and carry on a conversation. This was very satisfactory. We also had excellent communications with aircraft field parties, tractors, and so on, which was a great help. I think radio on an expedition like this is very much a mixed blessing, especially when it comes to people looking for information from the outside world. We like it for internal work, but it is rather interrupting to be always having to turn out vast quantities of answers to questions which are not always sensible.

We used an Aga cooker sort of fuel. It is safer if you are going to be isolated for any length of time than taking some of the liquid fuels because accidents do happen and one of the great dangers in Antarctica is fire. We indeed had one, but we got it out very quickly. But many bases have burned down in the last ten or fifteen years in the Antarctic—both British and foreign. We found it was rather difficult to get the waste water up and out during the winter, and we didn't want to put it through the door of the hut. We thought it might undermine the foundation a bit. We dug a tunnel about twenty feet away from the hut and burned a hole in the snow with petrol. It was very satisfactory. You put in another quart and burn it and by the use of four gallons of petrol, you have a very fine waste hole. Having used that for two weeks, we began to hear curious noises and we found the hot water had boiled into a large crevasse that ran about twenty feet away. We weren't on top of it and all was well.

Before we started on our journey we planned to do work in the mountains. We went up into the Shackleton Mountains to survey and do geology. The way to do that was not to labour solely on unproved routes, but to take the dog teams by air and put them down in the proper position. We saved effort and time. The dogs were flown two hundred miles away, ready to work in the mountains. They were fresh dogs, with a full load of food for one month, and with one flight they took in the whole team with two men. While that was going on four of us set out from Shackleton to prove the route south of us. We had only looked at it from the air. We found it to be considerably crevassed and we had to wind around the mountain areas, the great chasms, and so on. We thought we might get away in twenty-one days. On a straight route it would have been two weeks. We thought twenty-one days seemed a reasonable possibility, and twenty-eight at the most. It took us thirty-seven days. That put us back quite a lot. We did those thirty-seven days on the trip successfully after a lot of trouble. We flew back in two and a half hours and started all over again with two vehicles.

When the convoy left the base, heading to the south, the Weasels were each carrying about a quarter to half a ton inside, with two and a half to three tons on the one sledge behind. The Sno-cats had one ton inside, and we were carrying two and a half to three tons on each of the two sledges behind. The Sno-cats will go up to twenty miles straight ahead, but it is very unwise to run them at that speed. The Sno-cats are built to carry two tons, and one inside, and we were putting six tons in the two loads, which was pretty severe. We kept the speed down to a maximum of ten miles, and we thought we were doing well if we were doing seven. In bad conditions we got down to two or less. We had five forward gears. We were in top gear for about 250 miles out of 2,200. That was pretty hard on the gear boxes. All their tracks were different and the pontoons around which the tracks moved articulated about the axle, and the front pair of pontoons will, when you steer to the right, turn to the right, but the back pontoons will turn to the left, thereby giving a good steering. The magnetic compass extended in a tube. It looks like a chimney. This, in actual fact, is a periscopic compass, to remove the compass itself from the magnetic field of the vehicles as much as possible. It can be extended to twenty feet, and it could also be used as the vehicle to carry a "SARAH" (Search and Rescue and Homing) beacon. It was excellent for bringing aircraft in to the vehicle.

We began to climb up the western end of the Shackleton Mountains. We found it far more difficult to get there than we had expected. When we reached the spur around which we had to go, we were at an altitude of 3,000 feet, and it was time to change the jets. Every 2,000 feet we changed the jets so we could have the correct mixture. This is a cold and unpleasant job, especially when you drop the jet once or twice through the engine. There was continual maintenance of each Sno-cat every two hundred miles. The tracks had to be greased and the rest of the chassis lubricated as well. As long as one was religious with that, all was well. One of our big obstacles was the ice wall that extends from the mountains. It is 1500 feet high. Here the dogs really helped us because we had put them down some weeks before we got over with the vehicles. When I flew over I thought it was wholly impossible. At the top of the ice wall we were still in trouble with crevasses, this time running longitudinally. We would drive at right angles to the crevasse. At South Ice a fifty foot pit was dug during the winter, and another boring was made a hundred feet in the bottom of that to do a study of ice crystals, the structure of ice crystals and taking temperatures, and all the rest of it. Our purpose now was to build up from our main depot the last depot for our crossing of the continent, because from here on until 550 miles beyond the Pole we had no more supplies. Therefore, we had 1100 miles to go on our own steam. The dogs went first. On the 23rd of December, 1957, Ken Blaiklock and Jon Stephenson with two dog teams, left South Ice, scouting ahead up to a hundred miles and reporting back by radio to the vehicles following more slowly behind. We were limited to thirty miles a day to get our seismic gravity and other tests done. We left on Christmas Day on our way south, after listening in utter silence to the Queen's Christmas Day broadcast coming to us from across the world. The task of the dog teams was not only to report what conditions were like but also to build snow cairns. They sawed blocks of snow to build the cairns, which were shining beacons visible for miles, so we could move from one cairn to the next. These were built every five miles and very valuable they were. In meant the vehicles could ignore the surface and steer to the best advantage and not keep a direct course. They got awfully tired of building the straight columns of snow blocks and they began to make them more ornamental. One they called Snowhenge, after Stonehenge in England. Then they began to write rude messages on the snow blocks, to which we could never reply—this was a source of irritation to us.

We ourselves followed after, until halted by our next enemy, the sastrugi. The sastrugi were hard, very hard, and they became increasingly important. We expected shortly after leaving South Ice, which was 300 miles inland, to reach the high plateau and find smooth going, but it was not so. Driving vehicles over the sastrugi is pretty bad for tracks, towbars and tank runners. We found that the prevailing winds ran across our path to the north and the surface was cut up to a very great degree which slowed us enormously. The widest belt of continuous sastrugi was not confined to a slope, but was sixty-five miles wide, which was very frustrating. We didn't exceed two miles an hour at that distance. The ridges were four and five feet high, and you would always find yourself in a cul de sac from which you could not retreat. You could not just retreat and try another place. If you ran into a place you had two sledges behind you and you could not back over the two sledges. You had to unhitch and go over yourself, then go around, turn the sledges backward, hitching them back and turn forward again. You never got anywhere that way. We just went on and slowly laboured over these hard places. It was a slow process.

While we were doing that the Otter aircraft had come up from Shackleton. We had left four men there—two pilots, a radio man and the aircraft mechanic. They came up in the plane to South Ice—4,300 feet. There they filled the long range tanks with fuel, and set off across the continent to Scott Base where the Hillary party had the other aircraft. They flew over 1,315 miles in eleven hours and twenty minutes in a straight trip. It was a very fine effort in a single-engine plane of small size.

The Beardmore Glacier is on the far side of the continent. This is the Glacier on which Scott and Shackleton made their way. It was not suitable for tractors and we did not attempt it. In any case it was a known area.

To take the depths of the ice we used a drill which takes a three-inch core, and we bored down to thirty-six feet. We first used the cores for ice crystal work—specific gravity. We put thermometers down the hole over night, then we put explosives in the bottom in the morning to sound the depth of the ice. At this time we were getting depths increasing to six and seven thousand feet. It wasn't always as deep as that, and the depths did vary quite considerably. Our day would be twelve to thirteen hours long —driving two hours, boring a hole, having a meal, then five to six hours sleep before starting again in the morning.

At last, after 550 miles from South Ice, or 950 miles from Shackleton Station, we saw the South Pole on the horizon. We saw it from seven miles away and slightly above it. Here we were welcomed by a party of Americans. You will remember that the Amerians had flown a station in to the Geographical Pole. They put down about a thousand tons of material by air, either parachute or aircraft landing in. They parachuted bulldozers and such, landed on the surface and put down men and supplies. Here we received a most warm welcome. We were not allowed to sleep in our tents, but were given various places to sleep under cover and we were generally pampered for three or four days while we were there. We took the opportunity to repair some of the sledge towbars while we had the shelter of their base. It was much easier to do electric welding under shelter than in the open, as you can imagine. At the South Pole, surprisingly enough, there is a pole flying the United States flag, the United Nations flag and our New Zealand flag. Our New Zealand photographers cunningly introduced the New Zealand flag into the foreground of their pictures. There are 127 buoys, all empty, marking the area. We couldn't resist driving around with all the vehicles before we left. There you could run around the world in a very few minutes.

The curious thing about the South Pole, if you think about being there, is that you must decide which way you are going. The problem is which north to choose. You can quite easily make an error which you have to keep correcting at the early stages of your departure. When we decided which way we were going, we found the compass pointing south which confused the issue a bit. We found that west was east and east was west. The Magnetic Pole was still 1,250 miles further on. It took a little getting used to to read the compass in numbers and make it out the right way around. As the fuel was used up we planned to drop the vehicles as we proceeded toward the Pole. We started at South Ice with 22 tons of fuel. We dropped the vehicles as we went along and economized by using less fuel on the remainder of the run. As we went beyond the Pole we found the first of the crevasses. Just about 25 miles before the Pole we found the ice reduced in thickness to only 2,000 feet, yet we were 9,000 feet or more above sea level, so there was a mountain range 7,000 feet high underneath the ice, but there was no sign of it at the surface. At the Pole the ice was 8,000 feet thick, the rock surface being approximately 1,400 feet above sea level. So it seems there is a great basin or valley over which the

Pole lies, this basin being filled with ice. We went over endless snow, and found that the temperature had softened the snow. We were down to .8 of a mile per hour and it was getting a little serious. We had expected to do one and a quarter, or one and a half miles per hour. But the snow hardened again after two hundred miles.

We reached the first of the crevasses on the far side of the continent. Some were fifty feet across and some were seventy-five. They all ran parallel and all extended to an indefinite distance. Some ran seven miles or more, and went on as far as we could see. Still we got across, although the crevasses were very big and very long. We had no untoward incidents and we arrived at Depot 700 on the 7th of February, 1958. Marker poles led us to the major depot where we had all the fuel and food that Hillary had put in from the other side of the continent. We had, metaphorically, joined hands on the ground. It was arranged that Ed Hillary should fly in from Scott Base when we arrived, and accompany us the rest of the way. After one day's holdup by weather his Beaver aircraft came in and he joined the ground party here on the 10th of February, 1958. We set off from Depot 700, running still north to the next depot which we rapidly calculated to be 220 miles away. On this plateau surface we went from depot to depot, digging out depots as we could. The sun was getting lower on the horizon and as it grew later in the season we started to have colder conditions at night, with increasing winds.

On the 24th of February we started to descend through the mountains down the great Skeleton Glacier. As we ran past the island we came to a flat stretch which was very wide, clear and hard. Here the Americans had brought the bulldozers over from Scott Base and bulldozed the last mile to come in at the end of the journey. It was a very nice gesture. On March 2, 1958, our long journey was over. We had travelled 2,158 miles from Shackleton to Scott Base via the South Pole. We had thought the journey would take 100 days and our average speed would be 20 miles per day. We now found that we had completed the trip in 98 days (99 by the calendar because we had crossed the date line at the Pole), and we had averaged 22 miles per day. We ran into quite a crowd. All the New Zealanders, the I.G.Y. people, and the Americans from over the hill gathered around. In the middle of all this there was a brass band. The American Commander had said, "You know, we must give these chaps a bit of a welcome. Let's have a band." The second in command said, "We have the instruments but we have no one who can play them." The Commander said, "It doesn't matter if they can't play them, as long as they play them loud." So they did.

A scientific appreciation of the address was made by Dr. J. Tuzo Wilson, O.B.E., Professor of Geophysics at the University of Toronto.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Lieutenant-General G. G. Simonds, C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O., C.D.

“GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISE”

An Address by

THE HONOURABLE ROBERT H. WINTERS
President of The Rio Tinto Mining Company
and former Minister of Public Works

Thursday, February 19, 1959

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. Bruce Legge.

LT.-COL LEGGE: In the expert view of the *Financial Post*, the production of Canadian uranium in 1958 was worth approximately two hundred and ninety million dollars, which was therefore Canada's most valuable metal product. Furthermore, over the next four years the contract output of uranium will be three hundred and fifty million dollars a year. The wealth of these figures does not mean that future markets for Canadian uranium are guaranteed because there are many uncertainties which must be made sure for the peaceful marketing of atomic power reactors and for the acquisition of nuclear weapons. As the President of the huge Rio Tinto Mining Company, the Honourable Robert Winters has the burden of dealing with these problems and of leading an organization which produces the bulk of Canada's strategic material. He is, in fact, the proud Nova Scotia skipper of a great Canadian and Commonwealth development which looks to the future for still greater and more exciting days.

Mr. Winters came to his business command after an uncommonly brilliant political career, which began with the General Election of 1945 and ended in the unpredicted changes of 1957. For ten of the twelve years which Mr.

Winters represented the constituency of Queens-Lunenburg, he was in the Cabinet as Minister of Reconstruction and Supply, Resources and Development, and finally of Public Works. To these posts he brought the benefit of an excellent scientific education obtained at both Mount Allison University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In addition he had broadened his engineering training by serving with the Royal Canadian Electrical and Mechanical Engineers during the War and had attained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.

In politics he found an exacting life which demanded concentration throughout all the hours of every day and every week. As a business leader he has a similarly strenuous schedule, and this is not surprising because beyond the Presidency of Rio Tinto, he is a Director of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, The Crown Life Insurance Company, The Toronto General Trusts Corporation, Triarch Corporation Limited, the Royal Liverpool Insurance Company, the Bathurst Power & Paper Company Limited, and of Devon-Palmer Oils Limited. In short, Mr. Winters is the living example of the maxim that there is lots of room at the top for a good man, and he simply exchanged a Government pinnacle for a business summit. In these days when business is becoming infinitely complex and when governmental activity and regulation is vast and increasing, it is fortunate that our speaker can talk to us as one who has served both as an important member of the Government of Canada and as a powerful protagonist of the responsible business community.

Gentlemen, I am most pleased to introduce to The Empire Club of Canada the Honourable Robert Winters who will speak to us with the authority of experience on "Government and Private Enterprise".

MR. WINTERS: Is is a distinct honour to be invited to address the Empire Club of Toronto. Your membership comprises men who find in our great and proud traditions a source of strength and inspiration to be used in helping Canada achieve its high destiny in the world family of nations.

"Hold on to those things that are good" is an old admonition; and there are few amongst us who do not regard the British Commonwealth in that light. This free association of nations with a common regard for the Crown has overcome problems of race, colour, creed and geography to remain the greatest united force for peace the world has even known. The structure changes from time to time but the foundation of friendship and common purpose upon which the Commonwealth is built is the best guarantee that it will endure and continue to set an example of unity, peace and achievement.

Today I would like to speak briefly about some developing trends in the relationship between Government and private enterprise with emphasis on trade, a field in which Government policy makes its impact felt perhaps more quickly and with greater effect than in most other phases of its activities.

In the inevitable process of democracy, Governments change. Both the science and philosophy of Government change too. We have come far from the days when all power flowed from the Crown or whoever was powerful enough to seize it. But, although we take pride in our democratic form of Government, there are really very few nations whose Governments, even at this stage of development, are completely democratic in the sense of being fully elected by the people.

In the United States, the members of the Cabinet, for example, are not elected. They are appointed by the President and even though the policies and actions of the Government are subject to the control of Congress, the individual Cabinet Secretaries exercise both broad and important powers in the field of Government.

In the United Kingdom, which is the cradle of modern democratic Government and which has achieved great maturity in this field, members of the House of Lords do not take their seats as the result of a public mandate. They receive their authority by appointment, position or heredity.

In Canada one of our legislative bodies, the Senate, is fully comprised of appointed people. I am not saying that it is good or bad, desirable or undesirable to have one arm of our Government appointed rather than elected. I am merely asserting that notwithstanding our substantial progress in the direction of democracy and our devotion to democratic principles, there is still inherent in Canadians a reluctance to trust the voters 'all the way' in determining who shall conduct our public affairs. In fact, there is room for further and progressive development towards fuller democratic Governments in the countries of the free world and I believe that this is inevitable.

While the *system and form* of our Government has been changing in a progressive development toward more and more democracy, the *importance* of Government has also been changing in relation to our private lives, our business activities and our country's well being.

Even as late as just prior to World War I, there was little Government did outside of its tariff policies to influence the welfare of either business or private citizens. But the war required heavy expenditures which in turn brought on income taxes which have now taken on the aspect of permanence and inevitability. Forced by public demands, Governments today have developed an enormous appetite for revenues which is matched only by the public's even greater appetite for services of all kinds.

Now I have always believed that the real role of Government should be to enact legislation designed to create the type of economic climate under which private enterprise can flourish by using its own initiative and that the benefits therefrom should flow to all our citizens. This concept envisages the lowest possible corporation and personal income taxes so as to generate maximum incentive and initiative.

But the socialist influence has been strong and the resulting paternalism has permeated the policies of all political parties to a greater or lesser degree. In this atmosphere Governments are inexorably drawn on by the cumulative and manifold demands of private enterprise and individuals alike. The demands are virtually irresistible for more social services, public housing, subsidized farm incomes, more roads and greater development of our natural resources. These are all fine unless they are financed by shrinking the value of the dollar and making the tax burden cumulative on business and individuals who are deemed to be able to pay, while at the same time forcing more hardship on the man whose salary is relatively static, or who lives on a pension.

This matter of a shrinking dollar or inflation concerns all of us, but it is something that is most difficult to cope with because, generally speaking and within reasonable limits, people like the feeling of expansion and buoyancy that goes hand in hand with inflation. This is one of those cases in which the cure is far more distasteful than the disease.

Governments have striven over the years to prevent further depressions. Unemployment insurance, old age pensions, veterans' benefits and other social measures support spending power. In fact, having in mind the 1930's we, as a nation, have built into the economy better protections against depression and unemployment than we have against inflation; largely, I presume, because measures to protect against the latter are not popular but they are just as important.

Over the past generation the cumulative effect of these trends has been a pronounced growth in the activities and scope of Government to the point where the Federal Government alone today spends one dollar out of every $5 Canadians are able to produce in the form of goods and services.

I do not think anybody is entirely happy about the increasing scope of Government but much of the growth has been both necessary and good. For example, much of the increased activity resulted from steps taken to improve the position of various groups of our society, the aged, the unemployed, the war veterans, the sick, children, farmers, fishermen, the less wealthy provinces and to defend our society as a whole. It is only when it takes place in fields which can be developed more advantageously for the public generally by private enterprise and initiative that there can be serious criticism.

But as I said a moment ago, one important field in which the relationship between the Government and private business is most sensitive to changes in Government policy is that of trade.

Even when the economy is booming the Government is under pressure to raise tariffs on various imported products so as to provide protection to domestic industry; but when slackness develops the demands for higher import duties intensify as is the case at the present time. Because a high volume of international trade is vital to Canada's economy I would like to devote the balance of my remarks to this topic.

Now trade is a broad subject and to set the tone for a brief discussion, let me state my general point of view. Most of us are conditioned by environment and upbringing. I am a deep rooted Nova Scotian from a primary producing area which is greatly dependent upon world trade. Therefore, when I think about trade, I begin by asking: what is the justification for restrictions on trade which are apt to hamper the export of Canadian products?

Someone else, brought up in an industrial area close to the United States border, would probably begin by asking just the opposite question: what is the justification for permitting imports which compete with goods made in Canada?

These differences in point of view are natural and understandable. The important thing in considering questions of national policy is not the individual's particular starting point, but his ultimate aim. When formulating any broad policy, the national interest must take precedence over regional or sectional requirements. If we all keep before us the principle that what is good for Canada is good for all parts of Canada, we shall ultimately arrive at the right decision regardless of the point from which we begin.

Canada is a country built upon balance and compromise. A hundred years ago when the foundations of our national life were being laid, there were many who doubted that the northern half of the North American continent could survive as a separate independent country. How could an area so vast, with meagre communications, including two distinct racial groups, two languages, two major religions and cultural groups be formed into a nation that could survive alongside the United States? And yet Canada did survive and is now recognized as one of the leading middle powers.

It survived and prospered mainly, I believe, because of our genius for compromise and accommodation; because of our ability to deal successfully with the conflicts of interest that inevitably arose between areas, between races and between economic groupings.

That is the corner-stone of our history and it remains the key to our future. We must continue to strive for balance in our national life in all its phases and not least in the realm of economics.

As I see it, the main question with respect to Canadian trade policy is not the choice between free trade on the one hand and protectionism on the other. No reasonable Canadian is going to ask for a choice between those extreme alternatives. Complete free trade is not being seriously advocated and protectionism if, in fact, it means anything at all, is pretty well discredited.

What we in Canada have to decide is the direction in which we move. Are we to move towards *greater* freedom of trade or towards *less* freedom of trade? This is a crucial issue, not only for Canada but for the world as a whole and particularly for the free people of the world.

It is extremely difficult for Governments and peoples to co-operate on the political level if they are at cross purposes on the trade level. The European countries have recognized this fact. It has taken a long time but it is highly significant that six of them have now joined in an European Economic Union by which they will, over a period of several years, gradually eliminate customs, tariffs and other barriers to trade between them.

These six European countries are making a serious effort to put trade and economics ahead of politics. They are proceeding on the principle that as trade barriers are eliminated, it will be easier to attain their common political purposes. And I think they are right.

This is just one piece of evidence—but I could bring more—to support my contention that responsible men in all parts of the world have come to realize that the world would be a better and safer place in which to live if there were fewer restrictions on legitimate trade.

It would be foolish, of course, to suggest that all the countries of the world are moving steadily in that direction. This is by no means the case. There is a good deal of backsliding from time to time even by countries that profess to believe in freer trade. However, no one in authority in any important country now seriously contends that the free world is better off as a result of higher tariffs or other barriers to imports from their friends and neighbours.

Here in Canada our people have as much of a stake as any other people in the strength of the free world and in the preservation of democratic institutions. Indeed, because of our dependence upon access to foreign markets there is no country with a greater stake in world trade than this country of ours. Our high standard of living, second only to the United States, is the result of the fact that the output of the average Canadian is correspondingly high. This is simple and obvious, but it is essential to an understanding of our position and that is why I mention it here, even if it is obvious.

Our high productivity in turn is the result of the fact that we do things on a big scale with plenty of machinery and equipment. The amount of capital per employed person in Canada is about as high as it is anywhere in the world. If we were to produce only for our own needs, we could not, of course, do things on a big scale. We can only operate as we do because we produce surpluses for sale to the world and buy from the rest of the world the goods that it is not economical for us to produce in Canada, given our high standard of living and high wage levels. So it is not an exaggeration to say that the high standard of living in this country is the direct result of our ability to produce big surpluses of things like wheat and cattle and minerals and lumber and pulp and paper and fish, which make up the bulk of our exports, and to sell them abroad.

Some people do not like this dependence upon exports of large quantities of foodstuffs, and primary materials. As they put it, they do not like Canadians to be hewers of wood and drawers of water. They would like to see more of our raw materials processed here in Canada. I share this desire, but before jumping to conclusions I should like to make a point that is often overlooked; namely, that Canada *has* now become the sixth most important industrial nation in the world. One out of every four persons employed in this country works in manufacturing establishments. We are far, indeed, from being hewers of wood and drawers of water. Our industrial growth in recent years has been little short of phenomenal.

And it is important to remember that all of this vast development took place, without any appreciable increase in tariff protection in any direction for many, many years and with many reductions in Canadian tariffs negotiated by the Government in return for similar reductions in tariffs by other countries, thereby giving us better access to their markets.

As I said, I share the desire to see more processing of our own raw materials here in Canada, notwithstanding the enormous strides that have taken place in that direction in recent years. But I also want, and I am sure all of us want, to maintain and increase employment and living standards in Canada.

I said at the outset that we must strive to achieve a balance in our economic life. Let me go further now and add that I believe we should seek that balance at as high a standard of living as possible.

This means, as I see it, that we should look hard and critically at proposals that would involve further restrictions on imports. Every time we add a new tariff barrier against imports we do two things; first, we add to the cost of living and the cost of production in Canada and, second, we reduce, directly or indirectly, the markets for our export staples.

When I was in Ottawa as a Nova Scotian I naturally took a great deal of interest in trade matters. But in addition I had the honour to be Acting Minister of Trade and Commerce when that great Canadian, C. D. Howe, was required to be absent from Ottawa. That was an interesting experience from many points of view. One of the lessons I learned is that nearly everybody complains about the barriers erected by other countries against Canadian goods. They protest against such barriers very strongly, as they should. Very seldom, however, did delegations descend on us asking for the removal of barriers to goods entering Canada. On the contrary, we did receive many delegations urging higher tariffs or quotas or prohibitions against imports. Once it has heard these submissions the Government then has the responsibility of weighing the pros and cons and of reaching decisions about trade policy in the light of what is best for the nation as a whole.

I am not arguing in favour of free trade or against all forms of protection for Canadian industry. For one thing, I believe there are some industries that are basic to our economy and that we must develop them even if this involves some protection against imports from the neighbouring United States and elsewhere.

We should, however, not let such exceptions become the rule or divert us from our march toward our national economic objectives. And we must take care not to jeopardize our position in world markets by pushing these kinds of considerations too far. Many countries have in the past ruined themselves by disregarding the effects of a policy of excessive protection. They priced themselves out of world markets and came face to face with most painful problems of readjustment.

In one sense our dependence upon foreign markets is declining as a result of the growth of the Canadian market —our population is rising at an extraordinary rate and our buying power per head of population has risen markedly in the post-war period. But this does not mean that foreign markets are any less important than they were.

It is as true of Canada as it is of other countries, in process of development and drawing large amounts of capital from abroad, that exports provide the moving force and the foundation for growth and expansion. The industry with which I am now associated, uranium, for example, is one that would not have been possible without export outlets and it is indeed fortunate that today uranium is moving out of the country in such large amounts, offsetting declines in the export of other metals and minerals and thus helping to maintain Canada's financial and economic stability.

With all these considerations in mind, I believe that Canada should always be in the forefront of the world wide effort to reduce barriers to trade and we cannot be in that position unless we practise what we preach. Some risks are involved in such a policy and I am not in favour of indiscriminate cutting of tariffs. Every case must be carefully considered on its merits and there may, on occasion, be justification for some upward adjustments in individual cases.

There should, in my opinion, be no doubts of the direction in which we are moving. If our free institutions are to survive, there must be fewer barriers to trade throughout the free world. From the particular Canadian point of view we should be part of that collective approach not only because we are part of the free world, but because it is in our own selfish interest to gain increased access to foreign markets.

I conclude by re-asserting my belief that greater freedom of trade is a necessary ingredient of our national welfare and that it will become increasingly so in the years ahead.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Ian Baxter.

"TRUSTEES OF ONE HUNDRED MILLION DOLLARS"

An Address by

A. W. TRUEMAN, B.A., M.A., D.Litt., LL.D., F.R.S.A.,
Director of The Canada Council for the Encouragement of the Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences

Thursday, February 26, 1959

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. Bruce Legge.

LT.-COL. LEGGE: Today we are honoured to hear Dr. A. W. Trueman, Director of the Canada Council for the encouragement of the Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences, who will tell us about "The Canada Council—Its Programme and Problems".

From the very beginning, the Canada Council has received support from all Canadian political parties as well as the personal interest of Her Majesty the Queen who, on her last visit to Ottawa, gave permission for the use of the Crown in the seal of the Canada Council. Last year the honourable Brooke Claxton told The Empire Club of Canada about the Canada Council under the enquiring title "One Hundred Million Dollars for What?" He explained that a considerable part of the job of all large foundations was to refuse applications for money and he considered that a perfect form of rejection was, "We have nothing but praise for your proposal." We know that the Canada Council has not successfully applied that formula against all petitioners, and as Trustees of One Hundred Million Dollars, the Council is one of the great foundations of the world. Indeed, in the United States there are only seven foundations with similarly large endowments and they have the Midas-like names of Ford, Carnegie, Kellogg, Duke and Rockefeller.

Obviously the Canada Council is much more than a banking organization for culture, which substitutes public for private monies. One of its chief objectives is to encourage patrons of the Arts to continue and increase their princely gifts, for otherwise the Council would become simply a State-paid and State-directed culture factory.

It can easily be seen that the Director of the Canada Council must be both a man of the Arts and a man of affairs—one who combines the force to say a polished and inflexible 'No', yet possesses the warmth, spirit, and zest to nurture creative things. In 1957 the Council chose for its Director Dr. A. W. Trueman, a Canadian of great attainments. He had been carefully educated in the Maritimes and at Oxford University. Under his wise presidency, the University of Manitoba and then the University of New Brunswick have flourished. In due course his brilliance was recognized by the Government and he was appointed Chairman of the National Film Board of Canada from 1953 to 1957. During those four years the Film Board won glowing reviews from international critics and the approval of Canadian audiences. As a man of the Arts Dr. Trueman was created a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts of London, England, and he has been honoured with doctorates by four different Canadian Universities.

Today I am delighted to introduce to the Empire Club of Canada, Dr. A. W. Trueman, who will speak on "The Canada Council—Its Programme and Problems".

DR. TRUEMAN: The subject of my address is the Canada Council: Its Programme and Problems. I propose to spend a few minutes on a short account of the Council's structure and programme; I shall then outline, with some comment, the more important problems that the Council has had to face; I shall conclude with a few brief observations, the purpose of which will be to show why, as I see it, the establishment of the Canada Council and its programme is related to some fundamental beliefs which are of high importance for the future of the nation.

The Canada Council Act was assented to by Parliament on March 28, 1957.

On April 15, 1957, an Order-in-Council was passed, appointing the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman, the other members of the Council, the Director, the Associate Director, and three members of the Investment Committee.

The Council therefore was a year and ten months old, exactly eleven days ago.

There are twenty-one members of Council; that is to say, the Chairman (The Hon. Brooke Claxton), the Vice Chairman (The Very Rev. Georges Henri Lévesque) and nineteen others. The Act stipulated that the Council meet three times a year. It was necessary, I am sure you will have no trouble in believing, to meet much oftener than that during our early, formative days. As a matter of fact, I feel sure, judging by the volume of business which accrued from the four-month period immediately before our last meeting, in February, that it will always be necessary to meet oftener that three times a year.

There is an executive committee, of limited powers, which meets at the call of the Chairman.

The permanent staff, at present, is a small one, twenty-five in all. The principal officers are the Director, the Associate Director, the Treasurer, The Secretary, and the Supervisor of the Arts Programme.

The Investment Committee consists of five people: Mr. Graham Towers (the Chairman), Mr. James Muir, Mr. John G. Hungerford, the Hon. Brooke Claxton, and Major-General George Vanier.

The Canada Council has been given, by the Government of Canada, two funds of $50,000,000 each: the University Capital Grants Fund, and the Endowment Fund. The University Capital Grants Fund is itself expendable. The Act specifies that the Council shall make available in each province an amount from this fund that is in the same proportion to the total fund as the provincial population is to the national population. Having established the proportions, the Council is now proceeding with the division of the resultant sums among the eligible institutions in accordance with a formula worked out with, and agreed to by, the National Conference of Canadian Universities. The Council has adopted as its working list of eligible institutions the list used by the National Conference of Canadian Universities for the distribution of federal university grants. The Act does not specify what the life of the fund shall be, but in all probability it will be completely spent within six or seven years.

The Council may use the fund to help universities, and similar institutions of higher learning, erect buildings for the arts, humanities and social sciences. The maximum amount which may be provided for any one building is fifty per cent of its cost. After the last meeting of the Council, Feb. 2nd and 3rd of this year, grants amounting to over $12,000,000 had been authorized. Not more than a third of this sum, however, has been released to the universities concerned, as they receive their grants in the form of progress payments, four in number. The final payment of a grant is not made until the building has been properly certified as ready for occupancy.

The Endowment Fund, as the name suggests, is a fund in perpetuity. That is to say, only the annual income it produces may be spent. The Treasurer informs me that he anticipates a revenue from this fund for 1959-60 of close to $2,850,000. This high yield is explained by the fact that the book-value of the fund now stands at approximately $53,000,000. The rate of yield is therefore between 5.3 and 5.4 per cent. The appreciation in the value of our endowment, and the excellent rate of yield, have been the consequence of judicious investment and re-investment. This, I'm sure you'll agree with me, is a highly satisfactory state of affairs which reflects great credit on the acumen and zeal of the Investment Committee and the Treasurer.

Now what may the Canada Council do with this interesting sum, the annual revenue from its endowments? I should remind you, in the first place, that what it may do must be related to the Arts, the Humanities and the Social Sciences—not merely to the Arts, as too many members of the Canadian public have supposed. The legislation is described as "An Act for the Establishment of a Canada Council for the Encouragement of the Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences". The Council is concerned, therefore, with architecture, theatre, music, opera, ballet, literature, painting, sculpture, the graphic arts and, Heaven help us!, "other similar creative and interpretative activities"— to repeat the stately language of the act. But the Council is also concerned with Language, Literature, History and Philosophy, that is to say, with the Humanities; and with Political Economy, Political Science, Sociology, and certain other disciplines—Psychology, Anthropology, Geography, Education, Law—at least with those of their aspects which appear to bear a reasonably direct relation to the social sciences.

Perhaps the quickest way in which I can tell you what the Council may do is to read section 8 of the Act. Here it is:

OBJECTS AND POWERS OF THE COUNCIL.

(1) The objects of the Council are to foster and promote the study and enjoyment of, and the production of works in, the arts, humanities and social sciences, and, in particular, but without limiting the generality of the foregoing the Council may, in furtherance of its objects,

(a) assist, co-operate with and enlist the aid of organizations, the objects of which are similar to any of the objects of the Council;

(b) provide, through appropriate organizations or otherwise, for grants, scholarships or loans to persons in Canada for study or research in the arts, humanities or social sciences in Canada or elsewhere or to persons in other countries for study or research in such fields in Canada;

(c) make awards to persons in Canada for outstanding accomplishment in the arts, humanities or social sciences;

(d) arrange for and sponsor exhibitions, performances and publications of works in the arts, humanities or social sciences;

(e) exchange with other countries or organizations or persons therein knowledge and information respecting the arts, humanities and social sciences; and

(f) arrange for representation and interpretation of Canadian arts, humanities and social sciences in other countries.

(2) The Governor in Council may assign to the Council such functions and duties in relation to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization as he considers desirable.

We have now had a year and ten months of existence. Our programme of grant-giving has been in effect only for about a year and six months. The first four months were required for securing the Council offices, engaging staff, buying furniture and equipment, and holding preliminary meetings and consultations. Perhaps you would be interested in a few figures which indicate in a general way what we accomplished between the beginning of our programme and November 1, 1958, a period of a little over a year.

From the University Capital Grants Fund we authorized grants amounting to $9,813,000. These were for the following: buildings for faculties of arts, faculties of social sciences, libraries, halls of residence, an art gallery, a university school of architecture, and perhaps one or two other types. Since November 1, 1958, further grants have been authorized, bringing the total to about $12,000,000.

From the Endowment Fund we made, during the period before last November, grants amounting, in round figures, to $2,500,000. Roughly $1,350,000 of this sum was expended on the arts, and $1,150,000 on the humanities and social sciences, taken together. These expenditures may be broken down in a different way, as follows: in the first year of programme activity we spent over a million dollars on the Scholarships and Fellowships programme, approximately 75 per cent of which was in support of the humanities and social sciences; that is to say for academic scholars as opposed to artists of all sorts. In the same period we spent over a million dollars on organizations representing the arts (orchestra, theatres, ballets, operas, and others), and about three hundred thousand dollars on organizations, on individual research, other individual projects, and assistance for publication, within the area of the humanities and the social sciences. The balance of the $2,500,000 went for UNESCO expenses and other miscellaneous items which I shall not list here.

The administrative expenses of the Endowment Fund programme, of the University Capital Grants Fund, and of our UNESCO activities must all be charged to Endowment Fund revenue. Despite this fact, administration is costing less than 10% of that revenue. We learn from the reports of American foundations, and of the Arts Council of Great Britain, that this is comparatively inexpensive administration for an organization like the Council.

(Note. The figures which I have given in this section of my talk are, for the most part, round figures intended to give only a general notion of the Council's expenditures. I have not troubled to reconcile percentages accurately in a speech which is not intended to be the statement of an accountant.)

Now, after a year and ten months of examining applications for assistance and collecting information about the status and needs of the arts, humanities and social sciences in Canada, what seem to be some of the continuing, major problems?

Quite apart from the perennial question of what specific things ought to be done, I want to mention, first of all, the problem of dividing our Endowment Fund income equitably and effectively among the three general areas of our responsibility, the arts, humanities and social sciences. We had taken aim at half for the arts, on the one side, and half for the humanities, and social sciences on the other. We didn't score a miss, but we didn't hit the bull's-eye. I can't give you the exact figures at the moment, but the proportions are nearer 55% for the arts and 45% for the humanities and social sciences.

There are many reasons for this preponderance in favour of the arts. In the first place, they were in more desperate need than the humanities and social sciences. Of course, the humanities and the social sciences were, and are, in great need, but at least there stands behind them the whole organized academic community, including the great universities of the country. In the second place, the arts are represented by a multiciplity of organizations which far exceed in number and variety those of the humanities and social sciences. Outside the institutions of higher learning themselves, there are very few organizations, indeed, which represent these two groups of subjects. But the arts are divided and subdivided into orchestras, string ensembles, quartets, trios and choirs, ballets, operas, theatres, literary societies, painters' societies, architectural associations, and so on and so on. Consequently the great bulk of applications for assistance came from these arts organizations, and came with a rush.

We at the Council had to meet this situation as it confronted us. We had to do what we could to help, do it as rapidly as possible, and hope that what we did would not establish a host of precedents which would come back to plague us as we became more deeply involved in the exciting and complex task of giving money away. I think we have avoided these bad precedents, but I admit that I think we need to redress the balance somewhat. That this can be done, I have no doubt. In fact we are already taking steps to develop guides and policies which will help us to take increasingly accurate aim at the target. I think too that we have been somewhat conservative or conventional in our first year of operation. Under the circumstances, with no example before us, no blueprint to follow, having to create our policies as we went along, I think that it was wise to be somewhat conservative. It it my own hope—and I speak for myself here—that as we gain knowledge and experience we may strike out a little more boldly and try to avail ourselves of the sources of imagination which no doubt can be drawn upon, both within our own ranks and outside, for counsel and encouragement.

The second major problem which I pick out for reference is the problem of dealing with the small organizations in the small communities, both of which exist in their hundreds, and are working faithfully within the area of the Council's responsibilities. Arithmetic took over at this point in our reflections, and shoved sentiment rudely aside. There simply is not money enough to supply even a fraction of the needs, let alone the desires, which often exceed the needs, of all the smaller local orchestras, choirs, little theatres, museums, galleries, art associations, literary societies, and other groups who could do with a bit of money, and would be encouraged and delighted by the recognition which a Council grant would give them. I personally find this stark fact of arithmetic very sad, and I have to tighten my jaw self-consciously sometimes, when I sit down to write the letter of refusal, so beautifully called by our American friends, "a declination". Another difficulty which we have to face is posed by the in-between community which doesn't feel itself to be small, but is scarcely large enough to exert more than an immediately local influence. Arithmetic again dictates the policy.

The third major problem which I want to mention is this: the problem of deciding what must be the conditions on which we shall make grants to the organizations we agree to help.

It became evident very early that we were going to have to do a great deal of explaining to many groups which could not, I think, be expected to know at the outset what would be both possible and effective for the Council to do in pursuit of a long-range policy. The Council was convinced from the start, that it could not afford to subsidize the normal, routine costs of operation and maintenance; and that such support, even if it had been possible, would do almost nothing to ensure the enrichment, extension and general upgrading of an organization's programme. It would be convenient for any group, no doubt, to have its rent paid, its secretary paid, and its telephone and postage bills paid. But from the Council's point of view, such payments seemed likely to leave the programme exactly, or nearly, where it was. Furthermore it seemed reasonable to take the view that the smaller, local group ought to be able to send its roots well down into local soil; that the costs of normal maintenance and operation, as well as the other costs of the programme, *needed* to be met locally; otherwise what real justification could there be for the organization's existence?

Again, the Council took the view that the money it had to give out must not take the place of support that already existed. Of what use would it be to make a grant of $10,000 to an orchestra, a ballet, an opera, or any other association, only to find that after the period for which the grant had been made, local support had dropped proportionally to the grant? That kind of response would result in leaving the sum total of support exactly where it was before the Council came into existence, but with this difference: local interest would dwindle, and what had lived before, though perhaps in an under-nourished condition, would now succumb to disease and die.

Some of the other important problems which faced us and still face us are reflected in the list of questions which we put to a conference of humanists and social scientists who at our invitation met in Kingston this Christmas. Here are two of them:

(1) What proportion of the money available should be spent (i) on research projects and the needs of organizations representing the humanities and social sciences, and (ii) on assisting individuals to improve their abilities?

(2) To what extent should the Council disregard the geographic divisions of Canada in the apportioning of its assistance?

Here are a few problems put in the form of statements which the Conference was asked to discuss:

(3) As a general rule the Council should not initiate projects of its own, and it should not directly commission works.

(4) Grants should ordinarily be made for one year. There should be no undertaking, express or implied, that a grant will be renewed.

(5) "Little magazines" and journals of opinion should look to support from the particular constituencies they serve.

(6) Assistance for publication should not be given until a work has been completed and examined.

(7) Assistance for publication may be given by block orders of books for distribution outside Canada.

Here are a few more questions:

(8) Should the Council make travel and maintenance grants to enable scholars, teachers and artists to attend conferences, meetings of learned societies, short refresher courses for special groups, and the like?

(9) Should the Council contemplate giving assistance to research projects involving several people and a large sum of money—say as much as $150,000—to be given over a period of years, three, four or more?

(10) If group projects should be supported, what form should the assistance take: grants directly made to the individuals involved, or block grants to the head of the project for distribution in accordance with a submitted and approved schedule; matching grants to encourage other donors and other initiative; shared financial support with—say—an American foundation?

(11) What journals ought to be supported? Should a condition of Council support be that journals will not be permitted to become regular and continuing pensioners of the Council, but will have to find other means of support after the Council has given help for a short period?

(12) Does the Conference think that a useful purpose could be served by organizing a conference between the humanists and the physical scientists?

Perhaps this is enough to acquaint you with the nature of the Council, the kind of programme it supports, and at least some of the difficult and important problems which have arisen.

Now for the final section of my address. As soon as one attempts to deal with the philosophic justification of what is represented by the programme of the Canada Council, one is involved in profundities which cannot be easily or quickly stated. Nevertheless I should like to talk very briefly about one aspect of this matter. Of all the considerations then, which may be put forward as basic to such a discussion, let me say a few words about the element of communication.

This element is always of great significance among the many elements which are involved in the development of an individual and of a nation; and for no nation is it of more significance than for Canada. It is possible, I suggest, to think of the Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences—of the first two particularly—as fundamentally instruments of communication, between individual and individual, group and group, region and region, nation and nation.

It is often well, when one is treating a great theme, to resort to the words of a great man. I now turn to the historian of the Roman Empire, Edward Gibbon. Here is a timeless observation pertinent to our discussion, which you will find in chapter nine of volume one, of the "Decline and Fall': "Let us attempt, in an improved society, to calculate the immense distance between the man of learning and the illiterate peasant. The former, by reading and reflection, multiplies his own experience, and lives in distant ages and remote countries; whilst the latter, rooted to a single spot, and confined to a few years of existence, surpasses but very little his fellow laborer, the ox, in the exercise of his mental faculties."

Following the same trend of thought, and stated with a quality of irony which would have appealed to Gibbon, is this passage from a book by that delightful writer Harold Nicholson. (The book is "Good Behaviour—Being a study of Certain Types of Civility".)

"Yet to this day in England, as in Australia and the United States, the tradition survives that boys who are good at killing animals, or propelling balls, or leaping obstacles, or running very rapidly, are healthier minded and therefore more attractive than boys who devote their attention to art and literature. This seems in many ways an admirable tradition. It renders English intellectuals unassuming, and provides the State and the commercial community with a constant supply of apprentices who lack imagination and are therefore obedient. The disadvantage is that the athlete, after short years of glory, may have to endure an unhappy middle age. Even as the mediaeval Knight, who once his hawking days were over, found his afternoons lonely and his evenings dull, so also may those who have rejoiced only in the transient marvel of their physical strength discover in later life that their range has become restricted and their interests few. It is recommendable that Olympic champions should acquire the reading habit while still young".

There you have it again: the restricted range, the few interests. What is this but the lack of power either to communicate or to receive communication. As I have said, many arguments may be advanced in support of a programme for the Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences. This is merely one: namely, that they extend the range of communication, they multiply experience, they enrich our interest in existence. In other words they help us realize our own potentialities as human beings.

Let me not be misunderstood. I believe in athletics and other robust pleasures. I see no inconsistency between the notion of culture—that much misused word—and liking to watch a hockey game; between devotion to the fugues of Bach, and enjoying a popular song; between caring for the landscapes of Van Gogh and liking to go skiing or have muck on your boots or tinker with the motor of your car.

The Canada Council is not created for the benefit of any artificially selected group of people who are less than life size; it is not the exclusive preserve, believe me, of faddists, ivory-towered dreamers, highly specialized scholars of esoteric subjects. And yet it *is* for these, too, when they can demonstrate a need and justify a claim. But in the main, I think it is for people who are alive or want to become more alive; for people who are aware or want to become more aware of the richness of life about them, both spiritual and material; it is for those who in the words of Gibbon are not content to lead the mental life of an ox in a field, rooted to a single spot in time and space; it is for those who want, by extending their powers of communication, to enrich the necessary life of the now and the immediate, and to enlarge the scope of creative thought and feeling, by acquaintance with the distant countries and ages of the mind.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. James Joyce, a Past President of the Club.

"A HIGH STANDARD"

An Address by

ANDREW STEWART, D.Sc.Econ., LL.D.,
F.A.I.C., F.R.S.C.
Chairman, Board of Broadcast Governors, Ottawa

Thursday, March 5, 1959

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. Bruce Legge.

LT.-COL. LEGGE: When Dr. Andrew Stewart came to Canada in 1924 he stayed for only a few months and then departed for Australia. He confessed that in those days he saw the new world "through the eyes of a young wandering Scot uncertain of his home or vocation". He wisely returned to Canada in 1925 and uncertainty of vocation soon left him because he followed a brilliant academic career which culminated in his Presidency of the University of Alberta from 1950-1959. As an intellectual Dr. Stewart has received degrees and honours from many Commonwealth Universities in Canada, Scotland and Australia. He is a fellow of the Agricultural Institute of Canada and of the Royal Society of Canada. In addition he has been President of both the National Conference of Canadian Universities and of the Association of Universities of the British Commonwealth.

His University activities brought him fame but little leisure, because the Governments of Alberta and of the Dominion of Canada have sought his services to inquire into the confusing problems which abound in Canada's miraculously unfolding economy. In 1948 he was a Member of the Alberta Royal Commission on Provincial-Municipal Relations and the next year he sat on the Alberta Royal Commission on Natural Gas. In 1955 the St. Laurent

Government appointed him to the Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects, and in 1958 he was designated Chairman of the Price Spreads Commission on Food Products. Later in the same year, Dr. Stewart was selected for the difficult chairmanship of the Board of Broadcast Governors which is to control and license all broadcasting of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and of the privately-owned stations.

In many ways, Dr. Stewart's new Board reflects the complexity of modern Canadian life, which leads to the proliferation of all kinds of powerful administrative bodies. Such is their importance in Ontario that Premier Frost set up a public inquiry to decide if Boards and Commissions "shove the people of Ontario and their Government around". In the case of the new Board of Broadcast Governors we may be certain that broadcasting will be directed in the interests of a high standard of public service. With refreshing Scottish or Western-Canadian forthrightness he has proclaimed the doctrine that "a license (to broadcast) is a privilege". This means that present broadcasters may now have to show cause why their licences should not be cancelled. Furthermore, when the monopoly of the CBC in television is made competitive, then applicants for the rich privilege of entering the television field will be minutely scrutinized concerning their reputations, their financial responsibility, their record of achievement in other creative activities, and their plans for future programs. All of which promises to stimulate a higher standard of performance in these cynical days when apt critics can comment on singing commercials—"If it isn't worth saying, sing it."

Gentlemen, I am honoured to introduce to The Empire Club of Canada, Dr. Andrew Stewart, the Chairman of the Board of Broadcast Governors, who will tell us how he proposes to regulate Canadian Broadcasting on "A High Standard".

DR. STEWART: It is a privilege, once again, to be the guest of The Empire Club of Toronto. I am not deceived by believing that the invitation to address you today results from the memorable nature of the address I made to you three years ago. I suspect that the earlier occasion was overlooked by those responsible for the present invitation. In the present approach no topic was suggested to me. However, it seemed a reasonable guess that the invitation bore some relation to my recent appointment as Chairman of the Board of Broadcast Governors. I concluded also that, whoever is responsible for securing your speakers, felt that the members of the Empire Club would be interested in an early opportunity, first, to see what manner of a person had been appointed to this important position, and second, to receive an early pronouncement reflecting the views of the Board. Having accepted your invitation, I must, in one way or another, satisfy the first purpose. It may be that I shall disappoint you with respect to the second.

I am influenced, and limited, in what I shall say today by three considerations. First, my views with respect to the functions of the Chairman of such a Board as the Board of Broadcast Governors; second, the short time the Board has been in existence; and third, certain other speaking engagements which the Chairman has already accepted.

The Board consists of fifteen persons. Four of them (including two of the three full-time members) are drawn from the western provinces. There are three members from Ontario, four (including one full-time member) from Quebec, and four from the Atlantic provinces. They are, or have been, associated with universities, churches, the press, the professions, the business community, and organized labour. We have in the Board a group of able people, respected in their communities, with a diversity of experience as wide as the diverse character of Canadian life, and as representative as could be expected in a body no larger than this one. It is, I believe, the essential role of the Chairman to help the Board to fashion out of its diversity, a unity of purpose, a sense of direction, and a consistent policy which will commend itself to the people of Canada whom we represent and whose servants we are. The personal views of the Chairman, who happens to have been twenty-three years at the University of Alberta, are no more significant than those of any other member; the only views which have relevance are those to which the Board is collectively committed.

The composition of the Board was announced on November 11, 1958, and the Board has met on two occasions, one of which was occupied by public hearings, to deal with applications which had previously been referred to the Board of Governors of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation but had not been disposed of by them. Consequently, there has been as yet little opportunity for the interplay of ideas out of which the kind of consciously integrated policy I have described could emerge. On many important aspects of policy I am not yet in a position to express even the tentative views of the Board; and for reasons I have indicated, I am reluctant to expose purely personal opinions.

Section 10 of the Broadcasting Act sets out the general objects and purposes for which the Board was established in the following words:

> "The Board shall, for the purpose of ensuring the continued existence and efficient operation of a national broadcasting system and the provision of a varied and comprehensive broadcasting service of a high standard that is basically Canadian in content and character, regulate the establishment and operation of networks of broadcasting stations, the activities of public and private broadcasting stations in Canada and the relationship between them and provide for the final determination of all matters and questions in relation thereto."

This general statement lends itself to division into three areas. First, the provision of a varied and comprehensive broadcasting service of *a high standard*. This is the matter I wish to talk with you about today. Second, ensuring the operation of a national broadcasting system and the provision of a service that is basically Canadian in content and character. This topic I shall discuss when I meet with the Canadian Club of Hamilton early in April. Third, the regulation of the activities of public and private stations and of the operation of networks of broadcasting stations. This will be the subject of an address at the opening of the annual meeting of the Canadian Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters in this city on March 23rd.

Licences to operate a broadcasting station of a given power, on a given frequency, may be granted by the Minister of Transport after recommendation by the Board of Broadcast Governors. It would, I think, clarify some of the issues with respect to the regulation of the broadcasting industry if there were general acceptance and admission of the fact that this is one industry which cannot be left to unrestricted free enterprise. In principle, I suppose, It would be possible to leave the use of frequencies open to unlimited right of access. But surely the competitive solution to the allocation of these unique assets is completely impractical; not merely because of the wasteful nature of a process out of which only one contestant could possibly survive, but mainly because of the complete disruption of service while the process continued. It is this aspect of the industry which makes any analogy between broadcasting and other media of communication, for example newspapers, quite unreal. But, once it is conceded that the right to use a frequency in a particular area must be attached exclusively to one user, the enterprise becomes a public utility, and in such cases it is neither unusual nor improper to attach to the right some conditions and obligations.

However, this position does not logically lead to regulations respecting programs, which is the subject I wish to discuss with you today.

It is possible to detect two distinct approaches to broadcasting. Applicants for licences and operators of broadcasting stations tend to refer to "the market area". Elsewhere the same area may be referred to as "the area served". The "market area" concept seems to place the emphasis on advertising as a source of revenue for broadcasting stations, and on broadcasting as primarily an advertising medium. The concept of the "area served" appears to stress the provision of programs for listeners, and to recognize broadcasting as a general medium of communication. I do not believe that these apparently divergent views are incompatible or irreconcilable.

The message of the advertiser is a legitimate, and to a flourishing economy a necessary part of the total range of communications. It is a proper function of a broadcasting station within the concept of the "area served" to carry commercial advertising. Moreover, unless the listeners are prepared otherwise to pay for the costs of programming service, it is necessary for any broadcasting station to obtain sufficient advertising revenue to cover its costs of programming. Advertising is not an illegitimate intruder on the air, or indeed something which must be suffered preferably in the smallest quantities possible. On the other hand, however, advertising should not be the dominant factor determining the character of programming. Consistent with the concept of broadcasting as a medium of communication providing a general service to listeners, there is a limit both to the volume of advertising and to the extent to which the selection of programs may properly be determined by the advertising appeal.

In order that the costs of serving listeners with programs can be met out of advertising revenues, broadcasting stations must attract a sufficient listening audience. This is not the time or place for me to attempt to comment on the effectiveness of present techniques for measuring the listening audiences or the listener's response, beyond observing that there seems to be a general belief that these techniques are capable of considerable improvement. I do wish to take a look at the contention that the size of the listening audience, accurately determined, is a satisfactory measure of the extent to which a station is serving its public, and that an increase in the audience attached to any station reflects an improvement of service.

The argument, with which all of us are familiar, runs like this: to serve the public is to give the public what they want; the number of listeners is the best measure of success in providing what the public wants; the station which has the larger listening audience has proved that it is more sensitive to the wants of the public, and is giving better service. Changes in programming by a station which bring to it a larger listening audience represent, it is said, adaptation of the station to the wants of the public, and therefore a move in the direction of improved public service.

The argument appeals strongly to democratic sensitivities which have been created over a long period of time. We should, therefore, give it our most careful consideration, and should oppose it only on convincing grounds.

It is certainly not a convincing retort to point out that the argument is inconsistent with the existence of a Board having powers as specified under Section 11 of the Broadcasting Act. However, in assenting to the Act, Parliament either did not know what it was doing; or was making an idle gesture, not expecting the Board to promulgate any regulations respecting standards of programs, the character of advertising, the amount of time that may be devoted to advertising, and other matters specifically referred to in the Act; or as I believe to be much more likely, Parliament consciously denied the argument that broadcasting can be left to the normal criteria and judgments of the market place. And I am unwilling to conclude that Parliamentary approval of regulation of the broadcasting industry is merely another evidence of growing paternalism, a further eroding of basic democratic principles and procedures.

The principle of regulation of broadcasting incorporated in the new Act is not, among democratic nations, peculiar to Canada; nor is it new in Canada. In all democratic countries the broadcasting industry is subject to regulation. Since the inception of the industry in Canada, the issue of regulation has been repeatedly investigated and subjected to the judgment of public opinion; it has been as frequently endorsed. Experience leaves no shadow of doubt that the people of Canada are not willing to leave the development of broadcasting to unregulated market forces. This is a fact which must be accepted.

The argument that service to the public is to be judged only by the number of listeners attached to broadcasting stations rests implicitly on the assumption that public wants are created in a vacuum, and that the media of communication do not themselves play any consequential part in determining the intensity of particular wants or the general expression of wants. When we talk about the expression of wants it is essential that we distinguish between the period of time we have in mind. If we are thinking of a short period of time, it may be correct to suppose that the wants of people are substantially given. On the other hand, over a longer period of time, the wants of people clearly change, and do so under the influence of a variety of forces brought to bear on them. I suggest that the difference between the attitude of Parliament and the attitude characteristic of many operators of broadcasting stations results in part from the length of time over which their concern extends. It is not surprising if the conduct of an enterprise which aims to write off its investment in five years is considerably influenced by the opportunities for short-run gains. To do otherwise would require a substantial measure of restraint. Governments are perhaps not wholly oblivious to short-run considerations; but a responsible parliament must look far ahead.

Earlier I referred deliberately to our democratic sensitivities "which have been created over a long period of time". People are not born with an innate preference for any particular set of social institutions or patterns of behaviour in a complex society. If this were so, and the natural, unaffected tendency were to favour the kinds of institutions and the mode of life characteristic of western democracies, the establishment of the democratic forms in the newer nations now emerging would be infinitely easier than it is proving to be or will prove to be over a longer period of time. The evolution of our way of life is a matter of long history; a record of blood, sweat, toil and tears. The widening acceptance of those things we hold most dear has been achieved by a variety of means—the exercise of enlightened authority, angry and organized attacks on entrenched power and established error, the silent testimony of the example of dedicated individuals, the inspiration and persuasion of the few who have spoken to, and for the inarticulate many.

Education has played an important part in the process. The content of education in the schools, and indeed in the universities, is not drawn out of thin air and without reference to the generally accepted scale of values. Whatever our theories of education the fact is that the educational process contributes to the development of attitudes which are not those calculated to destroy the fabric of our society. Education serves a social purpose, viz., the reasoned adjustment of behaviour to a set of generally acceptable values. The line between education and propaganda or indoctrination is frighteningly faint. The authority of the classroom is acceptable only if exercised with restraint, if the appeal is to reason, there is a respect for the human mind and spirit, a constant willingness to subject to frank criticism both the basic values and the means by which society attempts to give expression to them, and a recognition that democracy is a process of becoming which depends upon the opportunity for, and acceptance of responsibility for one's behaviour. Under these conditions education imposes neither inflexibility nor uniformity, and under its influence both the scale of values and the modes of expression experience modification over time.

But education is not the only instrument for the preservation and progression of ideas. The attitudes and wants of people are constantly being shaped by a variety of influences brought to bear on them. One of the most potent influences of the twentieth century is the broadcasting medium. It is utterly inconceivable that this force which today occupies so much of our time, outside of work and sleep, is not and will not continue to have an appreciable effect on the kind of people Canadians are and will become over a period of time. Someone must give thought to the direction in which we are moving.

I am convinced that the principle of regulating the content of broadcasting can be successfully defended. However, it is in my opinion true that regulation could be more disastrous than its absence. The justification of regulatory authority must be found in the manner in which it is applied. Under the Broadcasting Act the public have a protection against the abuse of authority. The Board of Broadcast Governors is responsible to Parliament. But the machinery would be incapable of effective operation unless the Board observed some principles of regulation recognized as consistent with the public good, and contributing, in the long run, to the betterment of service.

Where authority is invoked, it should be applied with restraint. This is likely to happen if the members of the governing body remember that legislative authority does not confer infallibility, and that it is an excess of their function to endeavour to make others over in their own image. These cardinal sins can, I think, be avoided if the members of the Board have and retain a proper respect for the human spirit, and bear constantly in mind that the operators are themselves primarily intermediaries or agents. If the regulations do apply to them in the first instance, in the final analysis it is the listeners who are affected.

More specifically by restraint I mean offering a sufficient latitude to give play to the ingenuity, imagination and initiative of program directors to meet the wide range of tastes and preferences of listeners individually and in different areas, always within limits that are tolerable. I do not mean by "tolerable", non-controversial. Non-controversial broadcasting is impossible. It could not be achieved by uniformity. The variety of broadcasting service called for by the Act, and desirable in principle, means inevitably that some programs will irritate rather than please some listeners. The Board will be concerned if it does not hear of such instances.

Finally, by restraint I mean recognizing that the end object is to render regulations ineffective by narrowing the divergence of performance in particular cases from the progressive norm. I have referred to the operators as primarily agents. They are indeed more than this. Authority will no longer prove onerous on operators if the regulations commend themselves as sensible to the majority, and if the industry builds up a tradition of self-government and self-restraint. This is a young and dynamic industry. It is to be hoped that it will draw to it young men of quality motivated by the desire to play a conspicuous and proud part in the building of their nation. It should be the object of the Board, to provide them with opportunity and encouragement, and to make their path plain.

The Board's regulations will not create high standards. At best they will set a lower limit to the extent to which they may diverge or deteriorate. But this is a negative contribution. Someone said to me recently "You are now in the driver's seat". The analogy is both false and offensive. My reply was " All we can do is to prescribe the rules of the road". All analogies are dangerous; but let us pursue this one. The operators are the drivers, their facilities the automobiles, the programming their performance on the road. The regulations of the Board are the traffic regulations. Negatively, they are designed to prevent accidents; positively, to make it possible for driving to be a pleasant experience for everyone. The object is defeated if drivers have no respect for the law; but even if they respect the law, this does not necessarily make driving a pleasant experience for all. The extent to which this is achieved depends on the technical efficiency of the automobiles, the physical condition, knowledge and competence of the drivers, and above all their personal qualities of courtesy and good manners. It is the quality of management which will determine the standards of the industry.

May I conclude by indicating why I believe that the standard of the programs offered to and accepted by Canadian listeners is uniquely important at this point in our history. Broadcasting presents an image of ourselves. It is we who are seen on the television screen; our voice is heard on the radio.

The principles and institutions of political, economic and social democracy have found their most complete expression in what we loosely call "the North American way of life". This way of life, or culture, is today being tested as it has never been before. It is being tried before the bar of world opinion. There is no debate on abstract principles of social philosophy. The evidence on which judgment will be reached is the record of performance. The test is that of achievement.

The major occurrence of the first half of the twentieth century was the appearance and establishment of a new social system based upon substantially different concepts and practices. The outstanding development of historical significance in the second half of this century is the emergence of the new nation states of Asia. We are concerned that these new independent peoples should pattern their development after our ways. First, because we believe in the ultimate superiority of our system and, therefore, a contrary choice would be disturbing and even offensive to us; and second, it is a legitimate and proper concern in terms of our own long run self-interest, and perhaps even survival. We should not assume that peaceful coexistence is possible only if all, or nearly all major nations adopt the same social behaviour. Nevertheless, we are probably right in supposing that there would be fewer areas of friction between ourselves and other peoples who are like-minded to us.

The opportunity for self-determination on the part of the populous and potentially powerful nations of Asia, presents them with immediate and continuing problems of choice. The problems can be presented in an over-simplified form. It is unlikely that peoples with long established and differing traditions will all develop in the same way. But in a broad sense the choice is that of following the direction of our culture or that of the U.S.S.R.

We have been amazed, perhaps the correct word is shocked, by the evidence of the capacity of the centralized system of the U.S.S.R. to generate a rapid rate of advance in physical productivity. To discuss the reasons for the Russian achievement would take us too far afield today. The explanation probably lies primarily in the heavy weight given, in both the philosophy and practice of the U.S.S.R., to science and technology; and their ability constantly to keep their productive resources in full use. Be that as it may, the choice of the newer nations will be influenced by the evidence of the relative capacities of the two systems to sustain a rapid advance in physical output; and, in view of the low levels from which they start, this may well be the dominant consideration.

However, the physical or quantitative aspects of our culture—the kilowatts generated, tons of steel produced, satellites put into orbit, the number of automobiles, refrigerators, washing machines, television and radio sets per household—these are not the only criteria by which we are being or will be judged. We will be judged as well by the quality of our way of life, and the evidence of that quality is found, among other things, in what we communicate to one another through the broadcasting medium.

We do not need to know what the Russians are doing. It should not be our object to pattern ourselves after others. It would be interesting, although perhaps not reassuring, to know what others think of us. What is needed most is that we stand back, take a good look at ourselves, and ask two questions. First, do we really like what we see; and, second, can we honestly feel that others would wish to be like us. This frank re-appraisal, perhaps "agonizing re-appraisal", of the image of ourselves which is carried by the domestic—not the international—transmitters, is the first step toward the progressive elevation of our standards of performance, and a necessary condition of deserving the emulation of others.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Dr. James Parish.

"WHAT SHOULD BE DONE WITH THE CANADIAN SENATE?"

An Exchange of Views By

THE HONOURABLE ARTHUR ROEBUCK, Q.C.,
A Member of the Senate of Canada
and
B. T. RICHARDSON,
Editor of The Toronto Telegram
and
President of The Canadian Club of Toronto

Thursday, March 12, 1959

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. Bruce Legge.

LT.-COL. LEGGE: Appointed and hereditary upper legislative assemblies have been abolished or changed in parts of the Commonwealth. The august House of Lords has now been asked to accept life-time Peers and the even more revolutionary idea that women should sit as Peeresses in their own right. In Canada many shadow Governments have contemplated a reform of the Senate, but on assuming the burdens of Government, they have relented and the Senate continues to live.

The Empire Club of Canada with its traditional interest in Canadian affairs arranged for two experts to explore the role of the Senate. In selecting the participants for such a discussion we were fortunate that both Senator Roebuck and Mr. B. T. Richardson accepted our invitation. Perhaps they so readily agreed because they are members of The Empire Club of Canada and because they are recognized authorities on the ways of Canadian

Governments. Both are also devoted to the British principles of behaviour, for Senator Roebuck followed the British practice of resigning from office as an Ontario Cabinet Minister on a matter of principle rather than enjoy office by conforming to a policy in which he did not believe. Then too, Mr. Richardson is, like most democratic journalists, a prodigious believer in the ancient English doctrine of freedom of the press. However, on the newspaper which he edits there is an unusual equality of freedom, for recently there was a leading editorial criticizing one of their own redoubtable political writers on the opposite page. This remarkable freedom is not surprising since Mr. Richardson was a writer in Western Canada for many years and served under John W. Dafoe, the great Editor of the Winnipeg Free Press. Since Mr. Richardson received his university education in Winnipeg, Syracuse, and the London School of Economics, it is interesting that he was also a resident correspondent in the capitals of Canada, Britain and the United States. As an Editor he has directed the Saskatoon *Star-Phoenix,* the Winnipeg *Citizen,* the Ottawa *Citizen,* and now the Toronto *Telegram*. In all these appointments Mr. Richardson has kept a critical eye on Canadian politics and foreign affairs. Today we are honoured to have him discuss his views of the Canadian Senate with the Honourable Arthur Roebuck. Senator Roebuck also began his career as a newspaperman on the editorial staff of the Toronto *Daily Star* and then for nine years he was the owner and editor of the Temiskaming *Herald* and Cobalt *Citizen.* In 1917 he was called to the Bar of Ontario and from then on he practised both law and politics in Ontario. He was variously elected to the Ontario Legislature and to the House of Commons. In Ontario he was Attorney General, Minister of Labour and Hydro Commissioner in the First Ministry of the Honourable Mitchell F. Hepburn, and during the Second World War he was a prominent member of the House of Commons. In 1945 he was summoned to the Upper House by the Right Honourable William Lyon Mackenzie King, and he has played a conspicuous part in the deliberations of the Senate ever since.

SENATOR ROEBUCK: Mr. Chairman my first words are of course to thank you for so pleasant an introduction and my second to congratulate you and your associates on your courage in attacking this afternoon that hardy perennial, the Canadian Senate, or as you have phrased it "The Role of the Senate."

A visitor once passed a farmer sitting on his doorstep and after the usual perfunctory salutations added "And how does the land lie around here?" The farmer replied with a smile: "The land around here is honest land, and it doesn't lie; it's those pesky real estate agents that do the lying."

You ask me as to the Role of the Senate, and I reply—the Senate does not roll. That ship of state rides serenely on an even keel, with its balance maintained now for approaching one hundred years, despite a never ceasing barrage of criticism.

As you know, The Senate of Canada came into being at Confederation in 1867, but you may not realize that it was a recreation of the Legislative Councils, or Upper Houses of each and all of the confederating Provinces; Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Upper and Lower Canada. The dual Chamber Parliament was nothing new to the Fathers of Confederation. In none of these Legislative Councils were the members elected; they were all appointed, so that the framers of our Constitution had an intimate knowledge and experience of both methods of selection.

The population of Upper Canada was increasing rapidly at that time due to immigration from Great Britain while that of French Lower Canada depended almost entirely upon the cradle, and that of the maritime Provinces was apparently stationary. It was anticipated by some that the population of Ontario would in time outnumber all the rest of Canada.

And so if the principle of representation according to population was to prevail in the new Parliament, a second Chamber with fixed representation was essential to a united Canada. Accordingly, there was devised and is still existing a Parliament consisting of a House of Representatives elected on the basis of representation by population and an Upper House uncontrolled by either the Commons or the Crown, with 24 representatives from each of the three groups, the Maritimes, Quebec and Ontario, and, at a later date, with 24 from the four Western Provinces, and still later six from Newfoundland, the members of which receive life appointment from the Crown.

Now let it be observed that similar conditions with regard to population have continued to this day, and, if you find a minimum of fear in any portion of this great domain of domination by any other portion, you may credit it in part at least to the Role of the Senate in our scheme of government. Note that the enemies of the Senate are to be found almost entirely in the populous Provinces, certainly not in Quebec, and I was interested to note a recent statement by the Premier of Nova Scotia that the powers of, and representation in, the Senate of Canada, can be altered only on unanimous consent of all the Provinces.

You would expect the Premier of one of the smaller Provinces to take that stand because if Canada has remained united during her hundred years of history, and if we hope that she will remain united in the future, it will be due to the assurance that no unjust sectional legislation is possible of passage in a Chamber so constituted. The influence of the Senate in this regard is not to be measured by the bills we have rejected, for with the Senate on guard, such bills are not even suggested.

The Crows Nest Pass statutory frieght rates will sometime have to be revised, but the farmers of the West will not soon forget that in 1925, the Senate rejected a Commons Bill which would have added many millions of dollars to their transportation costs.

These complementary principles of representation by election in the Commons and by appointment in the Senate are fundamental to our Constitution, and though frequently misunderstood are vastly important to our national life both past and future.

Of vital importance also is the provision for life appointment, because the strength and usefulness of the Senate lies in its independence. Let me spend a few precious moments in calling to your attention the Parliamentary trends of recent years.

When George III was King of England, the monarch controlled the entire patronage of the nation. All appointments to the Army, Navy, Civil Service and the Church were in his hands. He even appointed the Speaker of the Commons, and he chose his Ministers from among his friends. But people would pay taxes only as approved by Parliament. By this control of the purse strings Parliament has forced a transfer to itself of all these former functions of the Crown, so that today the Queen reigns; she does not rule, and the Prime Minister has become all powerful. Parliament is still boss, for the Prime Minister and his cabinet hold office only so long as the elected Commons permits, but in matters of administration Parliament has in recent years been losing its hold as its former powers are transferred to the Executive. There was a time when the Commons controlled the Government; now the Government controls the Commons. This change has been inevitable with the vastly increasing size and complexity of government and its gigantic Civil Service.

If you would know how Executive control over the Commons is effected take a look at the set-up. The House of Commons has 265 Members, and of these usually something more than one-half are on the Government side. Out of this one-half the Prime Minister selects his 20 Cabinet Ministers and potentially as many ministerial assistants all of whom owe direct Cabinet loyalty to the inner circle. Add to this tangle of minor Government preferments, the need for government support at election time, and as well the loyalty which men naturally pay to the organization of which they form part, and you have the secret of the Government's control of the Commons.

On the other hand, the Government has become more and more dependent upon the Civil Service, which controls the sources of information, is the custodian of departmental tradition and experience, draws government bills, supplies material for ministerial speeches, and furnishes that continuity of policy which amazes those unaware of the inner workings. Thus the Civil Service largely controls the executive, and the Executive controls the Commons, and, were it not for the Senate, between the two of them they would control Parliament.

The Government House Leader and the Speaker are the only members of the Senate who continue to owe preferment to the Government of the day, and the present House Leader is not a member of the Cabinet.

All other members, once summoned, hold office for life, with nothing further to hope for and nothing to fear, with no masters but conscience and their loyalty to their country.

That it cannot be controlled is what gives the Senate its strength, and this also explains why it is so continuously and persistently attacked. Ruling cliques change from time to time, and what ruling cliques cannot control they liquidate, if they can.

There is something to be said of course for the principle of electing law makers, but Judges make law, and we do not elect them. What we do is to elect those charged with the appointment of Judges, Civil Servants and Senators and we hold them accountable for the results of their acts.

The role of the Senate is very largely judicial.

We initiate some legislation and we examine with care in Committee every Bill passed by the Commons and we amend them as required and with a frequency which is surprising.

It is not the Role of the Senate to obstruct the elected Government of the day in the carrying out of its policies. Our function is to assist rather than to hinder what is done in the Commons, always reserving the right to delay or reject what is plainly evil.

Thus the Senate enriches the Councils of the nation and adds materially to the wisdom and effectiveness of Parliament.

MR. RICHARDSON: Throughout our political history in Canada, we have had many flurries of talk about reforming the Senate—a sort of a millenial dream of political science—and I am afraid that, after a significant lull in the past few years, when our politics has centred on other more dramatic events, the Empire Club runs the risk of starting it all over again. However, that is the risk you run, and I judge the Empire Club was never one to let sleeping dogs lie. I admire the strict impartiality of Mr. Gelber in organizing this panel—he chose an outstanding Senator and, as an offset, one who never will be a Senator.

The Senate has had few more ardent defenders than the Honorable Senator from Toronto-Trinity, whom we have heard here today, and who will have the opportunity to correct any mistaken impressions I leave. That's the duty of the Senate, to give, as Sir John A. Macdonald put it, a sober second thought to public matters. In its silent and somewhat glum way, that is what the Senate has been doing all these years, mainly to its own satisfaction but to the satisfaction of hardly anyone else.

Senator Roebuck has amply demonstrated, on other occasions as well as this, that he possesses a sensitive grasp of the fact that the Senate is not popular with the public of Canada, that it is in need of reform, and that he shares some of the imaginative and creative ideas that are in circulation on the subject of what should be done about the Senate. If I should happen to express any opinions that could be taken in any way as an indictment of the Senate, I wish it clearly understood that I make no reference in any way to our honorable friends here.

Senator Roebuck participated in a celebrated debate that the Senate itself conducted about its plight and condition, in 1951, I think it was. And if we turn our minds back to those golden days, now so distant in our politics, I think we shall have to agree that there was only one thing wrong with the Senate that was really worth bothering about, and that was this: It had become nothing more than a more or less useful annex to the national Liberal Party. I say "more or less", because the time came when even the Senate, with its sober second thoughts about what was going on, could not save the Liberal Party.

The situation in which the Senate becomes an annex to one or other party is unfortunately, not rare in our history, though it is not as frequent as we may think. When

Laurier took office as Prime Minister in 1896, he found the Senate so loaded with Conservatives that it took the lapse of time and the death rate in the Upper House until, I think, around 1912 that he had the opportunity to appoint enough Liberals to have a majority in the Senate. We tend to forget that, more often than not, the Government of the day in Ottawa has *not* had a majority of its partisans in the Senate. Prime Minister Diefenbaker found only a corporal's guard of aging Conservatives in the Senate, when he took office in 1957; but with vacancies to be filled, allowing that Senators are mortal like the rest of us and about six deaths occur each year, we will have a Conservative majority in the Senate about the year 1962. Thereafter, the balance will build up swiftly against the Liberals and in favor of the Conservatives and, unless something is done, we will have all the same old arguments again, about the Senate being one-sided.

I would not advocate, in any way, an elective Senate—an idea with absolutely no merit in it at all—except to point out in this unfolding story of the Senate, that elections do catch up with it.

The Fathers of Confederation had a clear enough idea of what they wanted in a Senate, and the general argument for a Second Chamber is, I think, fully valid. It was interesting to me, a few weeks ago, when I was in New Zealand, a country that not long ago abolished its Second Chamber, there is much serious discussion about restoring it, as a balance to the House of Representatives and a useful branch of Parliament. I do not think there is much chance of this, but it is possible, and it gives an opportunity to make the irreverent suggestion that if New Zealand wants its Upper House back, Canada has one that does not enjoy high esteem, and probably could be spared.

Sir John A. Macdonald defined the Senate in these words: "It must be an independent house, having a free action on its own, for it is only valuable as being a regulating body, calmly considering the legislation initiated by the popular branch, and preventing any hasty and ill-considered legislation which may come from that body, but it will never set itself in opposition against the deliberate and understood wishes of the people." We should remember that the idea of the Senate as a guardian against demagogic acts and programs coming from the House of Commons, was an idea peculiar to the time in which the Canadian Confederation was born. At that time, there was considerable distrust of the mob and the word "democracy" had a flavor of disrepute about it, especially among those who looked across the border and observed the growing turmoil of American affairs that were heading into a bloody and unnecessary civil war. The memory of 1776 and of the American Revolution, was stronger then, and the impression had not been completely erased by the philosophic rationalizations of the political scientists, that it had been mainly conducted by the rabble. The idea of a calm, sober, independent Upper House is found, therefore, in the Canadian constitution and, indeed, in almost every other modern constitution. I would not quarrel with it—the idea, that is. It is a good idea gone wrong. The Senate has become a stagnant backwater, a political swamp into which a good many good men have disappeared, never to be seen or heard of again.

The question is how to make it work. I would not dispute, for a moment, all that has been said about how valuable the Senate is in committee work, how many conscientious members it has, how much money the Senate has saved the country through spotting mistakes made by the Commons, and so on. All this is true; equally it is true that the same services could probably be obtained better and more cheaply in other ways.

The Senate is an independent house? How often has the Senate made the front page in the past twenty years by saying no to something of major, policy importance that is sent to it from the House of Commons? The answer is, not at all. At the risk of inciting a disturbance of the peace in Ottawa, I would like to see the Senate really dig its heels in and save the Government and the Commons from some of their mistakes. The Senate could, in fact, have changed the course of our history, perhaps even saved the St. Laurent Government, if it had turned back the Trans-Canada pipeline measure, on the grounds of taking a "sober, second thought". Where were these alert, calm, judicious elders of our politics then? They were exactly where they have been during all our recent political crises, waiting for the final bell to ring.

Perhaps it is too much to hope that the Senate can save a Government of the people from mistakes. That was the plain hope and intention of the Fathers of Confederation, and I would make a key criticism of the Senate that explains why it fails to perform the basic function for which it was created—it simply does not possess the resources of information by which it can do the work it is intended to do. I think Senator Roebuck will agree with this, and in any case, I will quote a former Senate leader of his who said: "It is not possible for a senator to receive the information which he is entitled to receive. . . . To be able to give a full explanation of every measure that comes before us would require far more ability and knowledge than I think any one person possesses, unless he be a superman."

The Senate operates, in this complex day and age, without sufficient sources of information for an important branch of government. This is the real secret of the failure of the Senate, and the reason why it has steadily declined in prestige, why the pages of the Senate hansard are littered with complaints that no one loves the Senate in these days.

The remedy for this state of affairs is relatively simple. It lies within the power of the Senate as it is constituted today. Talk about "free action of its own", as Sir John A. said, in referring to the Senate. It does not even select its own leader. The Senate has sufficient authority of its own, fully adequate constitutional status, to organize itself for the task of dealing with legislation, but the fact is that it has never done so.

I confess that I have written some speeches myself for Senators, in the days when I was in the Press Gallery in Ottawa—an activity that made a negligible contribution to the quality and reader interest of the debates. I mention this to illustrate the depths to which the Senate has gone, because it lacks its own adequate sources of information. The chief reason why the Senate has never contributed a single creative idea to the solution of any serious problem in our whole history is that it has failed to organize itself with information, research, study and discussion to arrive at conclusions on complicated problems. That's basically the reason why the Senate does not, in fact, know what's going on in the country, or in the world.

Senators often complain that the public and the press do not pay much attention to them. In my time in the Press Gallery in Ottawa, the upper chamber had reached the extreme and desperate state of employing a newspaper reporter to report its proceedings to make them available to all newspapers. All it needs to do is to deserve public attention, and it will get it.

The remedy, I suggest, is internal organization. The Senate should appoint its own leader, transforming this position from that of a junior member of the Cabinet into a post of high prestige and independence. Once that is done, the Government should see that, not one, but three, four, or even five or six Cabinet portfolios be assigned to the Senate. I realize that none of the top portfolios could be held in the Senate, but half a dozen cabinet ministers there would be required to see that the Government program is carried through. But, you may say, this invites deadlocks over important legislation. Not at all. Let the Senate pick itself up off the floor, organize itself, begin to act, as it was intended to act, as an independent branch of Parliament, giving us good, informed, sober second thoughts on national policy. This doctrine has to be reconciled with the basic principle that the House of Commons is the true seat of sovereignty, and it must inevitably prevail. If there is any doubt about this basic principle, then this is where a clear-cut constitutional amendment is required. As a layman, I do not think it is necessary. In fact, I think that Senate reform along the lines I am suggesting is quite feasible within the constitution as it is, and that it will save the Senate and produce the results desired.

We should take some notice here of various proposals made for the Senate in the past, many of them entirely off the mark. The idea that the provinces should control some of the appointments has been made, from time to time. It had one distinguished advocate in the former

Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent. The friends of the splinter parties, that shine and fade like glowworms on our political landscape, think that if they can capture a provincial legislature, send a handful of members of the House of Commons, they, too, should have a few Senators. I regard this as the dream stuff of politics, having no merit in it and, in any case, impossible to realize within our constitution. It would be wrong to interlock the legislative authorities of the separate federal and provincial fields of our constitution, and I don't think we should try it. It would add nothing.

Should the Senate be elected? This is another mirage. It really makes no difference whether the Senators arrive in the upper house by election or, as now, by appointment through a somewhat complicated and more or less secret process based upon the office of Prime Minister and subject to the final seal of the Prime Minister himself. I will go into this matter in a little more detail, if I have the time here today, but I wish to say first that the greatest boon to the Senate would be a system of retirement on pension, possibly pegged at the age limit of 75 years, with an optional retirement at 70. This suggestion is one that arouses the most heat and the least light in the debates of the Senate, but there is no doubt the weight of evidence is strongly on the side of pensioning off Senators when they reach a graceful age of retirement.

One immediate advantage in this would be that the Senate itself would come to be regarded less as a political pension scheme, and more as an effective branch of Parliament.

Here we come down to the heart of the matter. Make the Senate an "effective branch of Parliament"? This the Senate alone can do. Occasionally we have had arguments, in some newspapers and some magazines that should know better, that the way to reform the Senate is to appoint *better* Senators, and usually this is taken to mean non-political Senators. My view is that what the Senate needs is not fewer but more politicians, and by this I mean politicians who will work in the practice of politics as a full-time profession. That's what the job should be; that's what too few Senators make it. I call the attention of the Senate to the fact that it is quite contrary to the spirit and, perhaps, the letter of the Parliament of Canada Act that its members should be engaged in practically every type of normal Canadian activity, as directors of companies, as practicing lawyers, as practicing this or that, as private business men, and so on—when their oath of office requires them to dedicate themselves to the public business and the public welfare.

Let me say that we have a good many hard-working Senators. It is an honor to be appointed to the Senate. It is an honor that should be borne with a sense of dedication to public service, not as a reward, not as a substitute for some order of chivalry which Canada lacks, and certainly not as the provision of a prestige address in the National Capital from which to pursue clients and expand one's private business.

The Senate, so a distinguished figure no longer in our public life, once told me, is composed of persons who are appointed too young, and others who are appointed too old. The line-up of suppliants for appointment to the Senate, if I am not mistaken, stretches right from the door of the Prime Minister's office to the middle of the Rocky Mountain. I see no reason why the present system of appointments should be changed, though the appointments should rest on the grounds that a Senator is ready to take up a career in public service and give his time and energy to it as long as he is able. There is nothing wrong, in my view, with that proposition.

These are my random views on the Senate of Canada, and I am obliged to the Empire Club for inviting me here and according me your attention. I hardly need add that I realize the room is full of good material for Senate appointments, and I hope I have not discouraged anyone from feeling that he could give a very good account of himself, if he does land up in the Senate some day.

THANKE OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Marvin Gelber.

"THE BERLIN CRISIS"

An Address by

BRIGADIER CLAUDE DEWHURST, O.B.E.
Author, Commentator and Intelligence Chief

Thursday, March 19, 1959

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. Bruce Legge.

LT.-COL. LEGGE: This is a sad week for all Canadians because of the chilling suddenness of the untimely death of one of the Queen's chief Canadian Ministers, the Honourable Sidney Smith. Dr. Smith was for fifteen years an esteemed member of this Club, and only next Monday he was to have spoken to a special joint-meeting of the Canadian Club of Toronto and The Empire Club of Canada. As a mark of our respect, that meeting will be cancelled by both Clubs and no substitute speaker will be invited. I know that I speak for every member and friend of this Club when I say that all Canada has been bereaved by his passing. Until his death Sidney Smith laboured brilliantly to offer the world a wise and understanding foreign policy. Concerning the subject of his scheduled speech, he wrote to me on the third of March that, "The international scene has been changing so rapidly over the past few weeks that I am hesitant to commit myself to one particular emphasis or perspective now!" The site of the most rapid change was the divided island of Berlin where free men help their fettered brothers to escape from captivity at a miraculous rate, and our speaker today will deal with one of Dr. Smith's last problems, the Berlin crisis.

Brigadier Claude Dewhurst is an expert in military intelligence and foreign affairs. He joined the Regular Army in Britain in the year 1929 and remained in the service until 1954. During that time he served in Intelligence and Diplomatic work in 47 countries and in the process learned to speak five langueges. For two years he was the Chief of the British Mission to the Soviet Marshal in East Germany and from his wide knowledge he will offer us an analysis of the Berlin crisis. Claude Dewhurst is a remarkable commentator who has mastered the problems of communicating his ideas by writing several books such as "The Soviets: What's Their Line?" and "Close Contact", in which he accurately foretold events in Russia and which became a best seller in five languages. According to U.S. News and World Report, this is "The most challenging writing in its class yet encountered". In addition, he is a convincing and engaging speaker who has travelled everywhere giving speeches and appearing on television and radio networks in Britain, Canada, and the United States. Brigadier Dewhurst is, therefore, a fervently eloquent exponent and a serious, practising student of politics and war.

The Berlin crisis is not just a new boil on the face of Europe, but the symptom of an old infection. As long ago as 1928 it was resolved at the 6th Congress of the Communist International that "The overthrow of capitalism is impossible without violence". No one really knows if there will be violence in Berlin, but we may all be certain that there will be a crisis because Engels dogmatically wrote in the early days of Communist doctrine that "A new revolution is possible only as a consequence of a new crisis and the Revolution is also as certain as the crisis".

Gentlemen, I am honoured to present to The Empire Club of Canada Brigadier Claude Dewhurst, who will describe for us the classic crisis as foreseen by the founding fathers of Communist theory, and which is now artistically manipulated by the Communists in "The Berlin Crisis".

BRIGADIER DEWHURST: The Berlin crisis cannot be considered in isolation. It is like a boil on the face of Europe demonstrating its poor bodily health. It is, in fact one of the many boils—like Korea or Lebanon—attesting to the poor health of the world, arising out of East-West competition. The poison, however, is initiated by Russia and is part and parcel of her world strategy. Her objectives, short term, are:

(a) To probe the weak spots of the world important to western survival, particularly those containing U.S. bases.

(b) To neutralize Europe as the possible scene of a future conflict.

It is the latter in which we are mainly interested today. Russia cannot, and must not, tolerate a war being fought on her own Continent—Europe—for she is a part of that continent, and the fire that starts in Europe can, and almost certainly will, spread to her homeland—particularly now, in the day of nuclear fall-out, and (more ominously) germ warfare and plague. Soviet Russia's great strength, and Communism's best battleground, is slow interior subversion leading to sudden national insurrection. This is the traditional role she would like to be left to pursue in Europe, and which NATO prevents her using. Behind such insurrections stands, of course, the Red Army. Its threat, not its use, is—again—the traditional role. She would, in fact, rather that it were *not* used. She has done very well so far in the world without using it, working by proxy and intimidation. She is furious to find herself check-mated in Europe.

Once Europe is in her hands (not physically, but by the dictation of threat) she can devote herself to the next step of knocking the U.S. out of the East's economic markets. Without European and Eastern markets she is confident that the United States will "wither away"—thus very neatly turning the quotation over to her enemies. She will, in fact, be able to force a recession on America from which it cannot recover for lack of resiliency in world markets, which won't at that time exist.

Don't think this is fanciful. It is eminently, if cold-bloodedly, practical. Soviet policy has always been thus.

Moreover, with her European former allies afraid to vote against Russia, and with Eastern countries in her economic orbit, America will lose its vote-hold on the U.N. and will be forced to withdraw from it, leaving it to Russia's leadership; or be defeated on major issues to Russia's advantage.

Russia is petrified of Germany. She virtually lost the last war. With huge contingents distracted on the Western front, and with a madman as Commander-in-Chief, the German armies were still only 14 miles from Moscow after capturing millions of Russian soldiers. She was finally saved by the weather and by the Lease-Lend of capitalism. She has not forgotten this. You have to know the Russians pretty well before you realise the extent of their inferiority complex before the Germans. The Germans equally despise the Russians, of course. I had the unique opportunity when I was head of the Military Mission in East Germany, accredited to the Soviet Commanders-in-Chief for two years, of observing the East German army. The units I saw were either quite hopeless and inefficient, performing the minimum duties demanded; or else they were so efficient, so smart, so well-disciplined as to wholly outclass and outshine the Soviet's garrison troops. The Russians were aware of, and resented, both attitudes, for both bespoke a hatred of the temporary occupying force. And, of course, the Russians can no more trust the East German Army than they can the armies of any other satellite. As an example, I can tell you that the East German Air Force is bottled up in extreme eastern airfields and is issued with enough gas for training locally but not enough for crossing the western frontier. And no commander has a map which goes further westward than his own boundaries—beyond that being blank.

The Russians are as aware as we are of Germany's military tradition and German inventiveness—the ones who invented the rocket, amongst other things. She knows that the West German Army will, by 1961, be fully streamlined and issued with nuclear weapons. She knows, too, that such an army could well interfere on two counts—trouble in Eastern Germany, and for a recapture of those provinces allotted to Poland by the Potsdam agreement. West Germany might, in such a case, be the proxy of "American Imperialism", copying Russia by interfering by armament and encouragement rather than directly. East Germany is, too, a very valuable ally for Russia—hard-working and rich. Yet it is unstable, and it is West Germany which makes her unstable.

Thus, for many reasons, Russia must act right *now* to forestall future unpleasantness. Can one blame her in seizing on the ready-made card of Berlin for playing her hand? Khrushchev is a gambler, and only a fool would leave so good a card unplayed. He said just that recently at a diplomatic reception in Moscow.

Anything that happens in East Germany affects adjacent satellites. If only East Germany could be recognized and her neighbours lose hope of any eventual release or liberation by the West, then indeed Moscow would be happy and free to go fishing in other muddy waters. If, moreover, the West could be persuaded by some means or other, of agreeing to a denuclearized or demilitarized zone, thus creating a further buffer to intervention and conceding to Russia a further insulation, then things would be just fine—for the Kremlin, of course.

Those who recommend disarmament, recognition of East Germany, disengagement from Berlin and a denuclearized zone "in the interests of avoiding friction" (as the so-called Canadian Peace Congress advertises) are merely playing Moscow's game of removing the main cause of unrest and instability in her fear-held Empire. Why should we? She will only move on into another area to exhort equal concessions in return for Soviet withdrawal from Middle Eastern affairs—an area in which she has no vital interest whatever, but from which we derive our life-blood and motivating power; or in return for a Moscow denouncement of all Communist parties throughout the world which aim at the overthrow of local government; or in return for full collaboration and participation in the Eastern Mutual Aid programme. Then, and only then, should we wish to "avoid friction" in Europe by conceding points to East Germany.

In June 1945 the four Allied Commanders agreed that western forces should retire from overrun Saxony and Thuringia in return for occupational status in Berlin. At Potsdam this agreement was ratified and parts of East Germany were handed over to Poland. If Russia denounces the 4-Power agreement, then we should re-occupy Saxony and Thuringia, or award them to West Germany. If she denounces the Potsdam agreement, then Silesia must be handed back to Germany by Poland. She can't be allowed to have it both ways.

Leaving things as they are, in fact, suits us very well. No West German really wants re-unification that badly. It's the same sort of misconception as when people imagined that all Cypriots wanted to become part of Greece. I said at the time (my last talk here) that they didn't, and they haven't now got it in the final run. It would be an economic drain on West Germany, and a political thorn for a long time. It's true, too, what the Russians say—that Berlin is a focus of dissatisfaction and a vantage point (they call it a point of espionage) for the West. It's the centre of Military Missions to East Germany, who discover a great deal. It's the headquarters of the Free Lawyers Association who watch on legal misdemeanours in the East Zone, report them to the world, and send personal warning to the guilty judges. It's the screening point of over 200,000 persons who desert their Soviet masters every year. It's the headquarters of a powerful U.S. radio transmitter, and a lot else. Yet the Russians offer no concession to get us out. They are just angry that they signed an agreement which is now to their disadvantage, and they want to repudiate the signature. We cannot allow them to do so, otherwise they can do the same elsewhere.

On the other hand, it is no use being adamant about the matter, and awaiting the 'D' day set by Khrushchev, for, as I have said, he has a strong card to play. There must, seemingly, be some way out. Thinking along this trend I recently wrote personally to two men who have my great admiration, under whom I worked, and who know more about Russia and the Germans than (I think) anyone alive. One is an Under-Secretary of State in London and the other is a brilliant former Ambassador to Moscow. I cannot give their names, for I have not that permission. But both replied in almost identical terms, and I read an extract from one of the letters: "I believe that the Allies have taken the correct line—no 'whittling' away of our legal rights. I believe the Russian moves constitute probing tactics, used by Krushchev as regards the Near East and

Far East in 1958 . . . our only course is to stand 100% firm. K. has failed so far in the Near East and Far East; he keeps on approaching the brink and then retreating. And this 'damp-squib' situation is no doubt annoying the Army who are calling for results. But neither K., nor the Army, nor anyone in Russia . . . wants war. So I am not particularly worried about Berlin—but I should be *very* perturbed indeed if we started to 'appease' in any shape or form. I am sure that, with all your experience on Russian psychology, you would agree that the only way to treat those people in to be strong, and, perhaps, above all, consistent".

That is expert British opinion, and that, too, is Mr. Dulles' opinion. We cannot challenge it unless we have greater knowledge ourselves.

If we cannot deal with Berlin in isolation, then, we must deal with it within the framework of all Germany. We have, however, little to concede except Europe's safety. And, as negotiations progress, the Russians can goad talks into acceleration by signing a unilateral treaty with the East Germans, and by allowing them to shoot down "accidentally" an unarmed allied aircraft, to panic negotiations.

Have we any common ground with the Russians to give us hope?

There is one thing we have in common with Russia, and that is a reluctance to extend membership of the Atomic Club i.e. allies who possess, by allotment or invention, hydrogen warheads. What, for instance, might have happened to the world a short time back if Egypt had had the atomic weapon when being chased, in ignominious retreat, from the borders of Israel? Would Nasser have refrained from using his most powerful weapon against the Jews? Russia is much more fearful of allotting such weapons to her unreliable satellite armies than we are of handing them to the West German army. She would like to limit the membership, and their testing by the owning powers, by just signing their outlawry on a piece of paper. That would be all right if the world knew from the past good experience that it could fully trust the word of Communists. But experience has taught it just the opposite. Thus we have got to insist on inspection; inspection that must be both mobile and free. For two years I held a pass, signed personally by the Soviet Commander-in-Chief of all forces in Eastern Germany, allowing me to go wherever I liked, without let or hindrance. But could I do so? Indeed, not. I was followed, hampered, physically obstructed, forbidden to enter ever-increasing secret and defended zones, and reduced to near impotence. That is the Communist way. They are hereditarily suspicious—pathologically so. Their suggestion of inspection teams composed entirely, or chiefly, of local nationals is absurd. So is the idea of static posts seeking permission before undertaking inspection journies. So is the veto by participating powers. Fortunately, it will not be at all long before rockets, satellites and the like will gather, by infra-red photography, all that we want. But that is beside the point. Again, it is not very important to discover where atomic tests are taking place when it is almost impossible to ascertain where far more deadly weapons, germ and bacteria, are being manufactured and tested. It is a question of confidence. Have we confidence to disarm and to inspect disarmament? Evidently, not yet. And it is not our fault.

I am not going to deal with what might happen, or should happen, in regard to Berlin; for whatever I predicted would assuredly prove wrong in the next few months. But I do want to deal, in ending this talk, with the crying necessity for a dynamic and forward-thinking Western policy—one that forces Russia to re-act for a change. Safeguarding the 'status quo' is no policy. If we do not want communism to succeed, we must, on the positive side, wish to see our own way of life triumph. Based on what we know of Russia in recent months, our policy should be fourfold:

(a) Set up a Cold War Headquarters in Europe alongside NATO. Russia can altogether forego the use of 'warm' forces if she goes on winning the Cold War. A Cold War Headquarters (under a nicer name, of course—for Russia called hers the Comintern) could attract the brains, donations and services of all those who believe that we could, by well co-ordinated and forceful propaganda, and by clever psychological warfare, prevent Russia from sealing up her fear-dominated European

Empire—until such time, of course, as it became greatly to her advantage to have us decease from our activity, by which time she would be ready to make sound concessions. Slightly-armed NATO is no 'King' in the poker game now playing—it's a throw-away. If Russia is paying over $100 million a year, as she is, to jam existing radio stations (the most powerful of which is privately financed Radio Free Europe at Munich), she is giving proof already of how fearful she is of her armour being pierced. We can make the defensive effort on her part for more expensive if we will. And the inclusion of psychological warfare, at which the West is so very adept when a hot war progresses, could greatly increase her woes. Are we not at war to justify such measures? And is the Cold War going to our advantage—or otherwise? I leave you to be the judge.

(b) Accelerate the movement towards a United Europe—not only economically, but politically as well. With a population of 300,000,000; with natural resources in iron, steel and other resources almost to rival Russia's; with the genius and inventive background to much of the world's progress; with a tradition of Socialism (neither Communist nor Capitalist). This could, indeed, be the Third Force to keep Russia and America apart. Until such time as the stratification of society, increase in privilege, rising standard of living and increasing independence of thought and idea on the one hand; and governmental restraint and direction of unwieldy private corporations and unions on the other, brings the two creeds closer together.

(c) Intensify economic aid to backward countries by devoting sums on the scale of the Marshall Plan to Near and Far Eastern countries. Russia's economy increases, we are told, 6% per annum, ours at 3%. We do not, in fact, need a greater acceleration at all for internal purposes—Russia does, and for a long time to come. Let us compete with Russia and devote the resultant surpluses, under government supervision, to countries which need them badly. And dynamically, not just as a duty. Let Canada 'adopt' India—that mass of 300 million which, by the side it takes, can decide if the world is to be Communist or not. It will cost far, far more than the $2 per head which this population is giving to the Colombo Plan—about which few know, and less seem to care. It will even cost more than the "Arrow" aircraft we have recently discarded. But what a more worthy reward! Help to the backward doesn't become obsolescent. Its dividends, on the contrary, grow incomensurately.

(d) Seek how to use our greatest instrument—that of organized religion. The Pope is trying to set the example. Who is trying to forget their preposterous little differences and re-unite our churches? And with whom would we march? With 836 million (yes) Christians, and with 1,790 million whose religious beliefs may not be precisely ours, but who have faiths founded upon the basic primitive human ethics from which Christianity was derived.

The policies I have outlined may seem too grandiose. But the propagation of Communism is done on a grandiose scale. It is evangelistic, and there are many ready to die for its dynamic purpose. We cannot win by nationalisms, rivalries, fears and half-measures. Let Berlin be the beginning of our learning

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Brigadier W. S. Rutherford.

"CANADIAN TRADE -- HANDLE WITH CARE"

An Address by

SIR JOHN WEDGWOOD
British Industrialist and Politician

Thursday, April 2, 1959

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. Bruce Legge.

LT.-COL. LEGGE: In one of his commercial essays Benjamin Franklin wrote, "No nation was ever ruined by trade." Judging by the effort that most countries devote to expanding their trade, Benjamin Franklin's dictum must be universally accepted as a way of avoiding ruination. Today Sir John Wedgwood, who is the leader of a firm with two hundred years' experience, and an unequalled reputation in trade, will speak to us on the intriguing subject, "Canadian Trade—Handle with Care!"

Sir John was educated at Winchester, Trinity College, Cambridge and in Europe. As a result, he is a linguist, a scholarship-mathematician, a financier and a raconteur. Besides his commercial activity he served during the War as a Military Intelligence Staff Officer in the Arctic and in Italy. In 1948 he rejoined the Territorial Army and became the Second in Command of the North Staffordshire Regiment. In addition, he is the President of many associations and organizations, including the United Commercial Travellers' Association. And this is not surprising because he has travelled our planet in the interests of his firm and as an expert mountaineer who has twice climbed the Matterhorn. He is addicted to other thrilling and hazardous occupations like under-water swimming and is a member of the British Cave Diving Group.

As a speaker, Sir John Wedgwood is much in demand and has appeared several times on the Brains Trust of the B.B.C.'s television program and has broadcast in Germany, Britain, Canada, New Zealand, Australia and the United States. In politics he was defeated as a Liberal candidate in the Labour landslide election of 1945. Later he followed the precedent set by Sir Winston Churchill and resigned from the Liberal Party to become the prospective Conservative candidate for the Leek division of Staffordshire. To add to his public duties, Sir John also serves as a Magistrate for the Town of Stone.

Our speaker has been with Wedgwoods since 1931 and was appointed the Deputy Chairman in 1955. To live and grow, and become a renowned name for two hundred years, any company must strive for perfection and suit its organization to the tempo of the times. Wedgwoods have done this. Sir John is their travelling ambassador and working commercial envoy who recently succeeded in the keenest 20th century competition in obtaining an order worth twenty thousand pounds from the Post Exchanges of the American Army. Anyone who can do that is an expert in foreign trade and is entitled to speak to The Empire Club of Canada on the sensitive subject—"Canadian Trade—Handle With Care!"

SIR JOHN WEDGWOOD: When recently I was gathering information about Canada I was astonished to learn for the first time that the birth rate here is around 28 per thousand persons per annum and the death rate only 8. This means that the natural rate of increase is approximately 2% yearly. To this must be added a further hundred thousand or so persons each year for the total of net immigration. This means that Canada's population rises percentage-wise by about 2.6% per annum—7.8% over the last three years. This increase is about as fast as that of China.

Furthermore I was surprised to discover that the rate of annual investment here is approximately 25% of the gross national product, as high as almost any other country in the world. I began to wonder how much more I did not know.

On every bookstall in Britain there are copies of *Life*, *Time, News Week* and *Readers Digest*, etc. Even those who do not care to read can learn plenty about the United States from the movies.

In many British cities there are Communist book shops, but not even in London is there a Canadian bookshop. In my researches I failed to find any booklet giving basic statistical facts. The same criticism can be made of the information which is available about our other Dominions and the Empire as a whole. Lack of knowledge of the Commonwealth in Britain is surprising.

Nevertheless, in spite of what I have said I believe that the blame for this ignorance lies more at our door than yours. Canada and the other Dominions may not distribute enough informative information. We in Britain are still more at fault in not giving more instruction in our schools in the geography, history and contemporary problems of the Commonwealth and Empire.

At school and at the University I was taught Latin, Greek, French, Calculus, Physics, Chemistry, theoretical Economics, Political Science and Comparative Religion. When I was at kindergarten I learned about the early development of Australia; at 10 I remember someone tried to teach me the names of the rivers in Asia. When I was 39 I got it quite clear for the first time that the Niagara Falls lie between Lakes Erie and Ontario. Four years later I found out for certain the names and locations of the capitals of the Australian states. Perhaps similar ignorance is to be found here. I suspect however, that the situation is not quite so bad.

Nevertheless how few people in Canada or Britain know, for example, of some of the achievements of the people of Australia. Sydney has, I believe, the best arranged and best hung picture galleries in the world. The skill and efficiency of Australian doctors cannot be surpassed anywhere. Australia is the world's cheapest steel producer. In spite of her comparatively small population and remoteness from the world's major markets she is able to maintain a standard of life second only to that of the United States and Canada.

Too few people appreciate the achievements of New

Zealand farmers. In spite of their remote location they pay about the highest agricultural wages in the world and sell their products remuneratively in markets ten thousand miles away or more.

Too little attention is paid to the success of the Government of India. Under the leadership of Mr. Nehru a heroic and largely successful experiment has been carried out in establishing genuine democracy among 350 million people speaking more than a score of different languages. If this experiment is successful it will be perhaps the greatest triumph in the history of world social progress.

Last, but not least, how often do we forget that six-sevenths of the population of the Empire are not white people.

Perhaps some of the dissatisfaction that may be felt from time to time with the people of my own country by the citizens of the Dominions would be mitigated if certain facts about Britain were more clearly emphasized.

Between 1815 and 1914 about 20 million emigrated from the British Isles. Of these 13 went to the United States and 4 to Canada. In these years in helping to populate North America, Britain lost about one quarter of her rising generation. Furthermore it should not be forgotten that emigrants are usually more enterprising and healthy than the average of their compatriots. This emigration, therefore, was a serious drain.

Then came World War I. Losses among the population of the United Kingdom amounted to nearly one million dead, virtually all from men born from 1875 to 1900. Inevitably these casualties were disproportionately highly concentrated among officers, senior N.C.O.'s, the potential leaders of the future. Sir Anthony Eden and Mr. MacMillan were lucky to survive. The difficulties in Britain between world wars must be to some extent attributed to lack of leaders consequent upon these losses. (When we are tempted to be rude about the French people, we should not forget that in the same world war their casualties were even greater than ours.) I do not wish to imply that the losses sustained by the Dominions were of no account. In the heroic assistance that they rendered they, too, suffered seriously.

In the difficult period between 1919 and 1939 largely from a desire to play fair by the foreign investor, a great effort was made by successive British Governments to revalue the pound stirling, and to maintain it at the pre-war parity of $4.84. The full consequences of this policy were not so well appreciated then as they would be today. The first result was that British exports were appreciably over-priced. The second that throughout the whole of the period, as a result of continued deflation, unemployment averaged about 10%.

These conditions were not condusive to industrial progress and many trades lost ground relative to overseas competitors. Britain had led the world in industrial development in the 18th century. Nevertheless manufacturing and allied trades had not, in general, proved attractive as careers for young men with the best education. They preferred banking, insurance, other financial activities or the professions. Many of the most brilliant chose the civil service both at home and overseas.

My own father was an exception in that after gaining a double-first at Cambridge he went to work for the railways. Even he had not originally intended to make it a career, but rather at a late date to enter politics as a railway expert. His case represents the beginning of a change which had begun to be noticeable before the first world war, but which was not encouraged by the conditions that followed. The export industries in particular failed to offer facilities bright enough to attract a sufficient number of those with the highest qualifications. Scientific training made inadequate progress. Technology was regarded as inferior to pure science and too few scientists were employed by industry. All this accounts for the comparative stagnation of the inter-war years. It is not, perhaps, too well understood how great has been the change since 1945. This is partly because the full effects have not yet been felt.

The level of employment in Britain in the past 14 years has never been less than 97½% of those seeking employment, who now total 24½ million. About 47% of the population is employed. This includes eight million women. This figure compares with only 41% of a smaller population before the war. It is a higher proportion than in either

Canada or the United States. Men average 48 hours work per week. Proportionately fewer days have been lost by strikes than at any time during the past 100 years, less than in North America and in most European countries.

The immediate post-war crisis can be said to have finished by 1948. Between 1948 and 1957 supplies of goods and services increased 30%; industrial output about 40%. The proportion invested of the gross national product has risen substantially to about 17½% in 1957. This figure will further increase and compare with 10% before the war.

Industrial productivity per man year has risen since 1946 by more than 2% each year. The output of steel, chemicals and allied industries has doubled; that of the engineering industry is up by about 50%. After adjusting for price increases exports have doubled since 1938.

The number of university students is greatly increased and remarkable progress has been made in technological education. More than 50,000 scientists and engineers are now employed in industrial research and development.

In nearly all official statements on economic progress, information is given about employment and productivity, about mechanization and technological advances. Rather less is said about improved quality and design. Virtually no reference, whatever, is made to time of delivery, publicity and salesmanship.

Yet the sellers' market is past. For most manufacturers the problems of actual selling are as urgent and as difficult as those of increasing output. I would guess that more than half the brain effort of our own Company is devoted to marketing questions. Unfortunately, in this sphere progress cannot be properly measured in material terms.

In the past many British companies, making excellent products, have in their methods of selling lacked knowledge, imagination, energy, efficiency and faith. There are several reasons for this. Traditionally Britain had a long lead in world industry and for many years enjoyed almost a monopoly. Her products sold themselves. It has taken too long for some of our industrialists to find out that conditions have changed. The British have been conservative in their marketing methods and attitude towards design.

There has been a national prejudice against anything which was thought too much as high pressure salesmanship or vulgarity. Until quite recently there was a social prejudice against selling and salesmen.

I am inclined to think also that in the past the influence of finance has been too powerful. Some people do not like to see too much money tied up in stock or spent on advertising or in other directions which do not appear to yield immediate material results.

Fortunately most of these ideas are now forgotten. There are good grounds for believing that the improvements which have already taken place will continue. This is especially true in Canada. There are good reasons for this. Canada is the most rapidly expanding market in the world. The average rate of increase is about 4%-5%. The Canadian dollar is the strongest and most desirable of all currencies—except, I understand, that of Venezuela.

The solvency and reliability of Canadian importers is beyond question. Already British exports to Canada have increased by 50% since 1952. They reached a record in 1957 of $546 million. There was a decline last year to $526½ million. This was due to a general reduction in Canadian imports. The British share of the actual total increased from 9.3% to 10.1%. It is likely that this share will rise still further in the coming years—and this for two reasons.

Firstly Canada sells more to Britain than Britain to Canada. The Canadian figures for 1957 and 1958 were $737½ million and $776 million. There was, therefore, a visible balance in Canada's favour of $190 odd million in 1957; $250 million in 1958.

Secondly, although British exports to Canada are substantial, they are only about one-seventh of those of the United States. They account for some 70% of all that Canada buys overseas. Furthermore, Canada has a very unfavourable visible trade balance with the U.S.

From all these figures it is clear that it cannot possibly be argued that imports from Britain are harmful to Canadian industry as a whole.

Pottery—tableware and ornamental ware—is one of the products which British manufacturers have proved much more successful than their foreign competitors. In 1958 imports totalled about $14½ million. Of this 78% came from Britain. This is a very high proportion. In 1953, however, the figure was nearly 87%

The British industry has been criticized for losing ground in recent years to competitors. One important fact however should not be overlooked. For the past few years conditions for the sale of goods in the shops to United States visitors have been less favourable than they used to be. The reasons for this are well known and apply particularly to pottery.

I understand that it is estimated that at least half of the pottery imported to Canada from Britain is resold through shops to American visitors at prices including local taxation, three and four times as high as those paid by the importer. This must be a useful factor in rectifying the unfavourable Canadian-United States trade balance. In so far as these sales have declined the sales of British pottery to Canadian shops has suffered in comparison with those of other goods less tempting to the tourist.

In spite of these conditions it would be wrong to suppose that the ceiling for British pottery to Canada has now been reached. This is a rapidly expanding market and increase of sales to Canadians of 5% per annum or even more is not an unreasonable target. In a few years this expansion will far outweigh the decline in tourist business, even if this continues.

There is, however, another reason why considerably much larger business may perhaps be looked for. I will not bore you with detailed figures. I would mention however that in these calculations, of which I will only give you the results, I have assumed that half the British pottery imported to this country is resold to Americans—I believe this the official figure. I have allowed also for import duty on various classes of goods and for the additions made to prices by wholesalers and retailers.

My conclusion is that the total value at shop prices on tableware of all sorts sold to the citizens of this country amounts to not more than $35 million—it may well be less. This represents an average of purchases of $2.00 per head to the population as a whole (including pottery bought by hotels, institutions, etc.) of one-ninth of a cent for each dollar. of the Canadian national income. These are figures appreciably less than those which at present are obtained in Britain which in themselves have been recently described as unreasonably small.

It would seem, therefore, that there is a vast field in Canada for increased sales—a terrific job to be done in advertising and public relations. Surely people ought to spend more on good pottery in a year than they do on cigarettes in a single week; anyway it is up to us to see that they do.

Although I feel proud of the service which the British pottery trade has been able to give the Canadian market in past years and which has enabled us to hold so large a share of the total I feel, nevertheless, there is room for further improvement. Perhaps we should have done more to explain to the public, for example, the difference between bone china and earthenware. My own company manufactures both these products in common with Royal Dalton and Spode.

The manufacturer of high quality earthenware which is now produced all over the world originated in Britain and British earthenware, I think, is still regarded as the best that is made. Bone china is uniquely a British product made virtually only in England and not even in Scotland or Wales

The two are easily distinguished. China is translucent and earthenware is opaque. British Bone China is the strongest and whitest ceramic tableware material made anywhere in the world. British earthenware is also an excellent product entirely suitable for its purpose and appreciably less costly.

Owing to lack of specificity in popular parlance earthenware is often referred to popularly as china but never as bone china. If you have any doubts hold up a piece in front of the light and see if you can discern the shadow of your fingers through the substance.

English potters enjoy nearly ⅘ of the Canadian market for importing tableware. Since British manufacturers as a whole have only captured about 1/10 of the Canadian trade there is obviously room for considerable expansion. How can this best be achieved?

The means whereby the industry, or company, can increase its business in any market are the special problems of that industry alone. There are, however, certain principles which must be observed, viz. suitability of products, price, delivery time, after-sales service, publicity and public relations.

To fail to produce over a period goods suitable in design and other respects is surely inexcusable, especially for a market like Canada, where there is no language barrier. The manufacturer need merely follow the advice of a competent representative or importer. If after a time he proves unsuccessful, employ another.

Representatives of the manufacturers should visit the important foreign market at least once, better twice, a year. These visits should not be the perquisites of directors only. Sales Manager, Designers, and Technicians are quite as important. Sometimes it may be advisable to employ a resident designer.

The manufacturers representative in Canada should not be prevented by expense from visiting his principal at least annually.

Money wages in Britain are still much lower than those which are obtained in North America so there should be no difficulty in supplying goods at competitive prices, except perhaps where an excessive tariff must be paid. It is nonsense to argue otherwise.

Domestic and U.S. manufacturers have an advantage over the British in that they are nearer to the Canadian market; this helps them over delivery and other sales service. The British manufacturer can have an advantage by holding stocks and having depots in Canada. It may even be advisable to have two or more such sub-centres of distribution. It is not always reasonable to require the importer and wholesale distrubutor to accept full financial responsibility for holding stock.

Advertising and publicity are domestic problems. The exporter is not normally qualified to make all the decisions. He can only judge the wisdom of a policy in the light of results obtained over a period. The Canadian importer must make the short term decisions. The British manufacturers are sometimes accused of not spending enough on publicity. One cannot generalize about this. It may pay off in some cases deliberately to increase prices and to spend the increased receipts so obtained entirely in advertising.

If British exporters fail to raise their sales in Canada annually by at least as much as the growth of the wealth of the market they are actually losing ground. A greater increase than this must be obtained if advantage is to be gained over other foreign manufacturers. The bare minimum target should be an increase of 5%.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. John Bonus.

SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING

Thursday, April 2, 1959

LT.-COL. LEGGE: I call to order a special meeting to consider the constitutional changes recommended by the Executive Committee.

Any of our guests who wish to retire may now do so, but I invite all the members who can, to remain for ten minutes to conduct this important business of The Empire Club of Canada.

Gentlemen, I now ask Lt.-Col. Montague, a distinguished Past President of the Club and the Acting Chairman of the Constitutional Committee to report to this special meeting.

LT.-COL. MONTAGUE:

Moved by Lt.-Col. W. H. Montague.
Seconded by Mr. Alexander Stark, Q.C.
That the Constitution be amended as follows:—

1. That the Preliminary sentence be changed by adding the words "Commonwealth and" after the word "United" so that the sentence shall read: "THE OBJECT OF THE CLUB IS THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE INTERESTS OF CANADA AND A UNITED COMMONWEALTH AND EMPIRE".

2. That a new article 1 (a) be added to read:

(a) "The purposes and objects of the Club shall include the consideration and discussion of subjects and events affecting the interests of the British Commonwealth and Empire and the promotion of unity among the nations and members within the British Commonwealth and Empire.

3. That sub-section 2 of Article 3 be deleted and the following substituted therefor:

(2) Subject to sub-section 4 of this article Active Resident, Associate, Non-Resident and Life Members shall pay

respectively such annual fees as may be fixed from time to time by the Board of Directors, and no member in arrears for fees shall be considered in good standing or be eligible for office.

4. That Article 4 be deleted and the following substituted therefor:

Art. 4.—(1) Members of the Club in good standing, and other persons regularly proposed and accepted, may be created Life Members of the Club by a two-thirds majority of those present at a meeting of the Executive Committee.

5. That article 6 be deleted and the following substituted therefor:

Officers to be Elected

Art. 6.—(1) The business of the Club shall be managed by a Board of Directors who may exercise all such powers and do all such acts and things that may be exercised or done by the Club and are not by the constitution or by statute expressly directed or required to be done by the Club at a general meeting of its members.

(2) The Board of Directors shall consist of 30 members of the Club who shall be elected annually at a general meeting held not later than April 30th in each year.

(3) The Board of Directors may include seven past presidents of the Club, one of whom shall be the immediate past president and three others shall consist of the three past presidents immediately preceding the immediate past president, if they are available and willing to act as directors.

(4) The Board of Directors shall meet as soon as convenient after their appointment for the purpose of appointing the officers of the Club (except the auditor or honorary auditor), for the year ending on April 30th but each officer shall continue in office until his successor is elected.

(5) The officers shall consist of an Honorary President, President, first, second and third Vice-presidents, Honorary Treasurer, Honorary Secretary, a Secretary-Treasurer, and

if considered necessary by the Directors, an Assistant-Secretary, an Assistant Treasurer and an Honorary Auditor. The Honorary President, the Honorary Treasurer, the Honorary Secretary, the Secretary-Treasurer and the Honorary Auditor are not required to be Directors of the Club.

(6) In the event of any vacancy occurring in the office of Director, the remaining directors may fill the vacancy from among the members for the unexpired portion of the term of office of the person whose office is vacant.

(7) The election of the members of the Board of Directors at a general meeting called for that purpose shall be by adoption of a resolution proposed by the chairman or acting chairman of a nominating committee. The nominating committee consisting of five members of the Board of Directors and four other members of the Club shall be appointed by the Board of Directors and approved at a regular or special meeting of the Club not less than four and not more than six weeks before the Annual Meeting. The Chairman of the Nominating Committee shall report the recommendations of that committee to the Annual Meeting. If nominations do not exceed the number of Directors necessary, the Chairman of the Meeting may instruct the Secretary-Treasurer, to cast one ballot in favour of those so nominated and thereupon such persons shall be declared by the Chairman to have been duly elected.

(8) The Nominating Committee shall recommend to the Board of Directors the proposed officers of the Club for the ensuing year, except the auditor or honorary auditor, and shall report their recommendations to the Annual Meeting, and the auditor or honorary auditor shall be elected at each Annual Meeting.

(9) Standing Committees shall be appointed as follows:

(a) Budget and Finance Committee.
(b) Speakers' Committee.
(c) Membership Committee.
(d) Constitution Committee.
(e) Luncheon and Reception Committee.
(f) Publicity Committee.
(g) Year Book Committee.

The motion amending the constitution was approved by vote of the members present.

LT.-COL. BRUCE LEGGE: As required by the Constitution of The Empire Club of Canada I now name the Nominating Committee as appointed by the Executive Committee:

Mr. W. W. Comber
Mr. S. S. Fletcher
Mr. Donald Jupp
Lt.-Col. W. H. Montague
Mr. Ford Ralph

The other members are:

Mr. H. G. Gillingham
Rev. E. M. Howse
Mr. D. F. McDonald
Mr. W. H. Reid

The Nominating Committee as named was approved by the general meeting

"THE FREE WORLD'S STAKE IN THE UNDER-DEVELOPED COUNTRIES"

An Address by

GOVERNOR G. MENNEN WILLIAMS
Governor of the State of Michigan

Thursday, April 9, 1959

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. Bruce Legge.

LT.-COL. LEGGE: When the important young ruler of one of the richest sovereign states of the American Union chooses to speak to The Empire Club of Canada on a subject concerning the needs of others in remote far-off places, then that leader is demonstrating a wise humanitarian and statesman-like concern. Today His Excellency G. Mennen Williams, the Governor of the State of Michigan, will describe "The Free World's Stake in the Underdeveloped Countries".

Governor Williams is a graduate of Princeton University and of the University of Michigan Law School. He has received honorary doctorates from several universities and has been honoured by the Governments of the Netherlands and of Greece. In public life His Excellency has served as the Assistant Attorney General for the State of Michigan and as the Executive Assistant to the United States Attorney General. As Governor of the State of Michigan, he is one of the powerful leaders of the Democratic Party. Since the Second World War, Governor Williams' Party has shown a strong determination to assist other countries, not only with the famous Marshall Plan but with support for all the other ingenious devices which affluent governments have offered for the development of economically primitive countries.

Governor Williams is one of those brilliant practical politicians who looks beyond the luxury of North America and remembers that in Calcutta, the second largest city in the Commonwealth, about thirty per cent of that city's population have no homes and live, sleep and die in the streets the year round. He knows that in India the rate of economic growth is only two per cent, whereas in the rising new China it is almost ten per cent. He is aware that the Soviet Union has made long-term credits available to India, and this assistance received a favourable Indian press—at least until the recent Chinese war in Tibet. Hunger, poverty, disease and oppression are the daily lot of the majority of people in the world and the statistics show that the annual per capita income of each American is thirty-two times that of each Indian and the average unemployed British family on National Assistance is six times better off than the average Arab with a job.

Now it takes courage for the Governor of any American State to remind people of their blessings and the danger of their wealth contrasted with the cruel suffering others have to bear. But Governor Williams has never shirked his duties. For almost four years of war, he served on carriers in the United States Navy and received ten battle stars and the Legion of Merit. Even more heroic is the stand he has taken for human dignity in these days of acute controversy. He once cancelled a major speech for the Jefferson-Jackson-Day dinner at Birmingham, Alabama, when a negro party leader was refused an invitation. On that occasion Governor Williams simply said, "I cannot in good conscience attend this meeting". Our speaker's strength and merit have been recognized in a remarkable way by the people of Michigan who elected him Governor at the age of thirty-seven and thereafter for an unprecedented total of six terms.

Gentlemen, I have the honour to present to The Empire Club of Canada His Excellency G. Mennen Williams, the Governor of the State of Michigan, who will speak to us on "The Free World's Stake in the Under-developed Countries".

GOVERNOR WILLIAMS: For several years, I have been looking forward to speaking to this audience, but each time something has intervened to prevent my accepting your kind invitations. This time, however, I was able to accept, and I consider it a real honour to be your guest today.

The subject of my talk is "The Free World's Stake in the Underdeveloped Countries"—those countries particularly in Africa and Asia which are frequently described as the emerging nations, whose people are caught up in what has been called a revolution of rising expectations. This subject was chosen because it embraces an area wherein Canada and the United States can take further steps in the cooperative international action which has marked the history of our two nations.

When I spoke in this city before the Ontario Legislature in 1952, I was proud to recall the glorious history of Canada in the defense of human freedom, and how the Canadian fighting men and the armed forces of my country have fought shoulder-to-shoulder against those who sought to destroy our way of life.

We remember the Canadian bayonets that stood between us and the German submarine bases on the Atlantic in the First World War. We remember how for a time Canada and Great Britain virtually alone, withstood the Nazi fury in the Second World War, holding the bastions of human liberty while the United States slowly gathered her great strength to aid in the ultimate victory of the Free World.

We remember Dieppe, when boys from Windsor first breached the walls of Hitler's Fortress Europe. We in Michigan recall very vividly the day of Dieppe, and the wave of sorrow that swept over our whole people as the bloody sacrifies of that engagement became known. The Windsor boys who died on the beaches and in the streets of Dieppe were not just the soldiers of an allied power—they were *our* sons, as well as yours, and we felt their loss as keenly as if they had been boys from Detroit, Port Huron or Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan.

After the War, we worked together through the United Nations Rehabilitation and Relief Agency—UNRRA—to help rebuild war-devastated areas of the world. We are shoulder-to-shoulder in the North American Treaty Organization—as yet another evidence of common effort in pursuit of our common goals.

Today I'm going to suggest another area for common action. My speech today will propose a new approach to economic aid, which will join our nations, and the other free nations as well, into a common policy for action.

My choice of subject reflects my deep personal conviction that the free world needs a common foreign economic policy just as much as we need a common defense policy such as we have in NATO, for example.

It is my conviction that we must assist underdeveloped countries to move into self-sustained economic growth. We should do this not only because our Judeo-Christian heritage requires that we help our brothers in need, although this is reason enough. We should do it because our own future—your country's and my country's—depends on whether the underdeveloped nations have the opportunity through viable economies to move their societies toward independence and democracy. After all, what we are seeking—your country and my country—from our foreign policy? I think we're seeking to create and maintain a world environment which will permit freedom and justice to grow, which will expand economic opportunity for everyone, and which will help achieve a genuine and durable peace. As we do this, we will at the same time be creating and maintaining a world environment which will allow our domestic progress to continue in as much safety as a dangerous world permits, and in accordance with our fundamental commitment to human freedom and to free institutions.

So quite apart from our military activities and alliances, and our parallel efforts to achieve international control of armaments, we must work ceaselessly to help bring about a world environment of independent, and progressively more democratic, open societies.

As Chester Bowles, the able and experienced former United States Ambassador to India, and now a Congressman from Connecticut, has pointed out, two great revolutions have been taking place in the world in the last 15 years. One is the revolution of national self-determination.

Sir Vivian Fuchs Meeting, February 12th, 1959. *From left to Right:* Brig. H. T. Airey; Hon. Keiller Mackay; Sir Vivian Fuchs; Lt.-Col. B. J. Legge.

Governor G. Mennen Williams Meeting, April 9th, 1959.

The other is the revolution of rising expectations. Together they are having a tremendous impact on two out of three persons in the world. In Asia and Africa millions and millions of people are seeking to realize a national identity.

Further, an exploding technology in agriculture, public health, engineering and communications has encouraged even people in backward and far-away villages to nurse the hope of a new and better life. But capital resources and trained technicians are not available to them on an adequate scale. The crawling increase in production that they have realized has been barely able to keep up with the growth of their population, let alone make possible an increase in real living standards. The more fortunate countries of Western Europe and the American continent, on the other hand, are enjoying the highest living standards in world history.

The contrast between the rich, prosperous Western nations and their 15 per cent of the world's people, and the depressed 70 per cent of mankind in Latin America, Asia and Africa is made all the more striking by color differences. The first group is largely white. The second group is largely colored.

In 1928, on the eve of the Great Depression, Lenin gave his opinion that "the road to Paris lies through Calcutta and Peking". He might just as well have said "the road to Washington and Ottawa" because if all of Asia falls to the Communists, our nations would be in grave jeopardy. In 1933, Stalin gave a similar opinion when he said "the backs of the British"—and by British, Stalin meant the western world—"will be broken not on the River Thames, but on the Yangtze, the Ganges, and the Nile".

For a quarter of a century, Communist Russia's efforts to expand its influence in Asia and Africa met with failure. This failure was a compound of lack of understanding and a deficiency of resources and of what we now call technical know-how. These deficiencies no longer exist. Today, the Kremlin has the wherewithal to implement Lenin's strategy. We must not permit this to happen.

Yet, our policy must not be based merely on the negative concept of blocking the Communists. Nor should we base our policy on the futile hope of trying to buy friends and allies, nor on the simple-minded proposal that we can avoid revolutions by merely filling hungry stomachs. The sensible policy is to accept realistically the fact that it is clearly to the long-range benefit of the highly developed countries of the Free World that the underdeveloped countries be able to secure independence and stability through the building of strong and growing economies.

This means we should be willing, indeed anxious, to join other countries—yes, even the Soviet Union—in supplying the underdeveloped countries with economic aid. We should be willing to do so because world peace will be determined more by ability of the underdeveloped countries to be economically stable and politically independent, than by any sense of obligation these countries might feel toward us. Governmental economic aid from the industrialized nations of the Free World can help to create a climate of opportunity for later private investments. This in turn is one magnet to draw these nations toward the Free World in their political development.

Obviously there are wide differences in the present stages of development, and foreign economic aid must be tailored to this fact

Some nations are just beginning to create conditions for regular economic growth. Other nations are one or several steps beyond that stage. India, for example, which contains 40 per cent of the total population of the underdeveloped areas of the Free World, is making a strong effort, an effort which has already created some of the conditions necessary for sustained economic growth. In Latin America, there are several countries which are well along to achieving regular and self-sustained economic growth. And Last Sunday's *New York Times* reported that "for the first time since her establishment as a State, Israel will need no direct United States Government economic support next year"—an illustrative example of where foreign aid paid off in helping a new nation achieve a stable economy of its own.

Obviously the problems are different for each country. Some can absorb more aid than others. Each needs somewhat different things from us. But the overall goal is recognizable and definable.

We are *not* seeking to redistribute income throughout the world so that all people are equally rich. We *are* seeking to help other people to move into regular, self-sustained economic growth, and thus raise living standards everywhere. Selt-sustained economic growth means that the national income is sufficient to maintain the individual standard of living at existing levels and in addition provide savings for capital investment. This capital investment, in turn, will permit an increasing standard of living for each individual with further capital investment despite population increases. As things stand now, any increase in wealth due to capital investment is too frequently swallowed up in increased population, which means there is no real increase in the individual standard of living.

Economists I have talked to estimate that to achieve a two per cent increase in output per person in the underdeveloped countries—and surely that is a modest objective —there will have to be a substantial increase in capital investment in these countries. If the Free World fails to help fill this need, we are turning our backs on an opportunity which may never come our way again. If we fail in this, we betray one of the deepest beliefs of our Judeo-Christian heritage, the belief in the brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God, a belief which gives vitality to the democracy of my nation and yours.

How big a job is this that I'm talking about? Can we afford to do it—that is, can the United States, Canada and the other industrialized countries of the Free World give sufficient aid without dislocating our domestic economies?

Let's take a look at the size of the job. The best expert analysis I have seen estimates a total of $5 billion in additional economic aid annually would be required to begin to achieve the capital development needed for self-sustained economic growth in the underdeveloped countries in Latin America, South Asia, the Near East, the Far East, and Africa. Five billion dollars is only a little more than one per cent of the Gross National Product of the United States alone—and I am not going to propose that the United States foot the entire bill.

It is interesting by comparison that during the long years of British development of her overseas empire, the British invested each year at least 10 per cent of their gross national product in foreign enterprise. The British, moreover, invested some of their ablest men and women as well. This was the era of Pax Brittanica, which while not suited to today's world, served in its time of history to advance world peace.

A further interesting comparison is that under the great UNRRA programs one per cent of the national income of each contributing nation was considered fair, a precedent not only for a one per cent rule of thumb—which is more than I shall propose—but a precedent as well for combined action through the United Nations in major programs looking to the development of other nations.

Taking the $5 billion dollar figure, let's say that the United States agreed to pay 60 per cent of this amount—of $3 billion dollars per year, which amounts to six-tenths of one per cent of our gross national product. Let's say that all of the other industrialized nations together—those in Western Europe, plus Canada and Japan, agreed to pay the other $2 billion. Certainly this reduces a $5 billion dollar Free World economic aid and public investment program to proportions that each of us could assume without strain. And not all of this amount need be in hard, cold cash, or in equipment. Some part of it could take the form of those surpluses which burden us, and which, unfortunately, through their unilateral disposal have sometimes damaged the friendly relationship between Canada and the United States. In short, I am proposing that the Free World undertake a joint foreign economic aid program of $5 billion dollars a year, designed for at least a five year period at the outset, and for as long beyond that as the need exists.

Foreign economic aid is now at matter of national action by each individual government. There is no overall foreign aid program operating through the United Nations. I propose that this new program be administered by and through the United Nations.

There are, I recognize, some people in my own country, and indeed in my own political party, who do not want to keep even the level of foreign economic aid provided in the proposal now before the United States Congress. I hope the Congress will turn down these views and act affirmatively on the recommendation before it. The majority of people in my country, I am sure, give their full support to adequate economic aid, and they would give full support to a United Nations economic aid and public investment program, subscribed to by free nations, and adequately financed.

Canada's splendid reputation for full support of all United Nations undertakings indicates, I believe, the fundamental desire of your people to continue to develop the U.N. into an ever stronger instrumentality for world development and world peace. And using the United Nations, I am convinced, would assure more readily the participation of more countries than could be obtained by any other means.

One obvious objection is that the Soviet Union might hamstring the program in the United Nations, or benefit unduly from it. This argument, I do not think, stands up under close examination. Participation by the Soviet Union could be conditioned by its financial support. If the Soviet Union failed to support the program, their loud claims to be the friend of the underdeveloped nations would be considerably weakened. If the Soviet Union did participate, the value of their bilateral aid programs would be blunted.

The essence of successful planning is dependable continuity. We cannot turn our aid on and off, year by year, and expect the leadership of those underdeveloped countries to call on their own people for, and to commit their own political positions to, economic develpment. It's not realistic to undertake the development of major resources like factories and dams except over a period of years. This is why I suggest as a minimum that we commit ourselves to a five-year program of the annual magnitude that I have outlined.

The Kremlin, I am convinced, sees as one of the weaknesses of the Free World that we are going our separate ways in economic aid programs and policies, and we are not — taken together, and certainly not singly — doing enough to make it possible for the underdeveloped and the uncommitted countries to take their place by our side.

In my judgment, we must at the irreducible minimum maintain the present levels of national programs. And then we must do more. The adoption and successful execution through the United Nations of a cooperative economic aid program for the underdeveloped areas would be a powerful force to counteract the lure of Communism and Soviet Imperialism.

And it would do more than that. The Free World needs a sense of purpose in its mutual undertakings. To the degree that we undertake programs which offer the opportunity to achieve a purpose intrinsically worth achieving, we strengthen the bond which unites us. Foreign economic aid is such a program. It enables us to reach out our hands to help other people who need our help. It enables us to open opportunities for self-development to people all over the earth. It enables us to be the instruments of God's will on earth.

When free nations are aroused by the call of immense undertakings we achieve goals of prodigious magnitude. Thus it was in two World Wars. Thus it can be, I firmly believe, in the cause of peace through common programs of action toward worthwhile goals.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. J. Palmer Kent.

"THE SOVIET'S OBJECTIVES -- FACTS AND FANCIES"

An Address by

THE HONOURABLE
RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH
United States Ambassador to Canada

Joint Meeting with the Canadian Club of Toronto

Thursday, April 16, 1959

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. Bruce Legge.

The speaker was introduced by Mr. B. T. Richardson, President of The Canadian Club of Toronto.

MR. RICHARDSON: It is a great pleasure to introduce to this audience the new American Ambassador to Canada. He has come to us in the course of his first official visit to Toronto, a city in which I am sure he will always feel at home and in which he will always be a welcome visitor.

I should convey to him at once the sincere regret that we all feel, here in this room and throughout Canada, over the news this week that his chief, the Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles, has been forced to resign through ill health. This is a loss to the free world that is recognized and lamented here no less than in your homeland, Mr. Ambassador, and I can assure you that Canadian prayers will mingle with those of others for providential care for Mr. Dulles.

The critical and terribly exacting problem of American foreign policy, in these days of American leadership in the free world, lies in the field of relations with Soviet Union communism. This is the problem, I am sure, with which historians will identify the career of John Foster Dulles, and it is particularly appropriate today that the new ambassador should speak on this aspect of American responsibilities.

Perhaps I should not say "new" ambassador. Mr. Wigglesworth took up his appointment last October, and in any case, there is a long and special relationship between his home city of Boston and Toronto. There are ancient and enduring links. Possibly there are some here whose ancestors departed from Boston during the trouble that arose about the throwing of tea into the harbour to defy King George III. I know that some of my ancestors disagreed with that way of making tea.

Over a period of thirty years—that is, during sixteen Congresses—Ambassador Wigglesworth pursued an honourable career in the House of Representatives, where his record is open to inspection and where he became a senior member. The separation of powers in the American Constitution is well understood by most Canadians, no matter how perplexing it is to others, and it is a happy event to have a man whose career has lain in the legislative branch to come here as representative of the executive branch of the U.S. Government. I am happy to present to you the American Ambassador to Canada, the Honourable Richard B. Wigglesworth, who will speak on "Soviet Objectives—Facts and Fancies".

MR. WIGGLESWORTH: I am grateful for the invitations received both from the Canadian Club and the Empire Club and am indebted to both for their willingness to join forces and thereby give me the privilege of accepting both invitations simultaneously.

As you appreciate I have not been in my present position for very long. Although I have not had long experience in the diplomatic service, I have spent some thirty years in political and legislative life as a member of the Congress of the United States. During recent years the major emphasis of my work has been in the field of defense and foreign aid which had involved one or more official visits to some twenty-seven different countries involved in the programs.

In veiw of the importance of this audience I would like to refer briefly to some of the reasons back of current free world policy toward the Soviet Union.

I would like to cut through the propaganda fog which the Soviet Government so ably spreads and take a look at the record of the past twenty years in the belief that the undisputed facts clearly reveal for all who will look the basic objectives of Soviet foreign policy. I would also like to show how this record limits the flexibility of the free world in negotiating agreements on disarmament, disengagement and the discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests.

I would hope that these approaches will leave no room for doubt or fancy regarding the basic objectives and motives of the Soviet Union and will explain why my country does not feel that it can gamble its security by basing important agreements with the Soviet Union on faith, a quality which recent history shows it scarcely deserves.

I shall not try to explain the complex issues involved in the Berlin situation. They will be threshed out at the Foreign Ministers' meeting beginning May 11 and, if a summit meeting seems justified, at a later meeting of the Heads of Government.

Nonetheless, I trust that some of the facts regarding basic Soviet motives which I shall mention, will be helpful in understanding the background of the Berlin negotiations concerning which we shall be reading so much in the days to come.

In my judgment the best place to look for clues with respect to future actions by the Soviet Union is in its past actions. The free world cannot afford to overlook the lessons of history and of experience if it is to survive. Past Soviet actions are the only solid indications we have as to future intentions unless we accept as gospel the no more reassuring writings and statements of their leaders such as Khrushchev's recent remark: "We will bury you".

The history of the last twenty years can be forgotten only at our risk and peril. We must not forget that on October 31, 1939 Mr. Molotov in a speech before the

Supreme Soviet referred to the then recently concluded mutual assistance pacts between the Soviet Union and Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. He said: "All these pacts of mutual assistance strictly stipulate the inviolability of the sovereignty of the signatory states and the principle of non-interference in each other's affairs. These pacts are based on mutual respect for the political, social and economic structure of the contracting parties, and are designed to strengthen the basis for peaceful and neighbourly cooperation between our peoples. We stand for the scrupulous and punctilious observance of the pacts on the basis of complete reciprocity, and we declare that all the nonsensical talk about the Sovietization of the Baltic countries is only to the interest of our common enemies and of all anti-Soviet provocateurs." This speech was delivered less than twenty months before the U.S.S.R. with its Red Army incorporated by force these three independent countries into the Soviet Union. It was delivered only twenty months before the cattle cars moved eastward to Siberia loaded with tens of thousands of men, women and children who had done no wrong unless wishing to live in peace as citizens of independent countries was wrong. They had put their trust in Soviet good faith.

We must not forget the key role of the Red Army poised on the border when the death knell of democracy was sounded for Czechoslovakia in February of 1948. We must not forget the first threat to Berlin in June of 1948 and the free world's victory through the round-the-clock airlift.

We must not forget that at the Geneva summit meeting in 1955 the Soviets agreed that "The Heads of Government, recognizing their common responsibility for the settlement of the German question and the reunification of Germany, have agreed that the settlement of the German question and the reunification of Germany by means of free elections shall be carried out in conformity with the national interests of the German people and the interests of European security".

At the Foreign Ministers' conference in Geneva four short months later the Soviet Union refused to reflect that commitment in any action or agreement.

We must not forget that it was only two and a half short years ago that the incredibly brave Hungarian people rose in a supreme effort to obtain freedom and a government of their own choosing. They were on the verge of success when Soviet tanks brought in from outside Hungary killed thousands of unarmed Hungarians and forcibly reimposed an unwanted regime on that country. We must not forget that it was only five months ago that the Soviet Union artificially created a crisis between east and west over Berlin while loudly professing its dedication to peace.

Gentlemen, these and other developments make all too clear, I think, the basic motives of the Soviet Union during the past twenty years. Those motives are not complicated. They can be summed up in the words aggressive expansion. Aggressive expansion by subversion and the exertion of political pressure, if possible—by the use of force, if necessary, and if it appears to promise success.

And by subversion I, of course, mean the whole arsenal of weapons including threats, false promises, infiltration, economic warfare and other familiar tactics of the cold war. The free world must be prepared to overcome encroachment either by force or by subversion. By its united military strength it has blocked any recent expansion of the Soviet Union by military means and forced the Kremlin to turn to subversion. By united action it can also counter Soviet subversion.

Remembering the fate of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, however; remembering the subversion of Czechoslovakia; remembering the murder of Hungary's fighters for freedom; and remembering Soviet broken promises including the agreement at the 1955 summit meeting regarding the reunification of Germany by free elections; we in the free world cannot base our security on faith in the unsupported promises of the Soviet Union.

This is why, in trying to reach an agreement to disarm, or an agreement to discontinue the testing of nuclear weapons, or an agreement to prevent surprise attack, the free world must protect its very survival by insisting on agreements which are self-enforcing or which are safeguarded by adequate inspection and control systems. Given the Soviet record during the past twenty years the west must base its relations with the Soviet Union on knowledge and not on faith.

I have spoken of disarmament. Following World War II the Soviet Union maintained much of its vast military apparatus while the free world drastically demobilized its armed forces. Today it is estimated that the Soviet army has about 175 divisions while only 21 divisions are in the central command of the NATO Commander, General Norstad. The only way the west can hope to face these overwhelming odds is by having adequate armaments including appropriate nuclear weapons.

The U.S.S.R. in all disarmament discussions has had as a major objective increasing the relative effectiveness of its massive manpower by denial of nuclear weapons to the west. The west has maintained that only through an agreement under which conventional forces are phased more nearly into balance can the limitation of nuclear weapons be considered. The west for reasons already mentioned has also taken the position that an effective inspection system is an essential part of disarmament.

The Soviet Government has maintained the absurd position that the purpose of the west in insisting on an inspection system is not to insure that a disarmament agreement is carried out but is a subterfuge to permit espionage.

I have referred to disengagement. Soviet ultimate objectives with respect to the various forms of disengagement which have been proposed include the withdrawal of allied forces including Canadian, United States, British and French forces from Germany to their respective countries (3,000 miles for the Canadians and Americans) in exchange for withdrawal of Soviet troops within their borders (a few hundred miles); the neutralization of Germany; and the break up of NATO.

Aside from the completely artificial creation of the Berlin crisis by the Soviet Union the European border between the Soviet orbit and the west has been comparatively free from dangerous incidents. This in itself casts doubt on the Soviet contention that military disengagement alone—that is the mere physical separation of forces—would reduce world tension. The vital element in the reduction of world tension is not military disengagement but political disengagement to which the Soviet government has yet to make any significant contribution.

I have mentioned the discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests. The United Kingdom and the United States as you know have been ready and willing to reach an agreement to ban such tests provided there is effective, impartial machinery for policing such a ban. As those of you who have followed the recent discussions at Geneva in the press will appreciate, the Soviet representatives have been insisting on a system of self-inspection supervised by a control organization subject to veto by any one of the permanent members of the commission. This would give a possible violater full power to prevent any action whatsoever and is not the effective, impartial machinery which the free world must insist on. The West cannot base its survival solely on faith in the word of the Soviet Union in dealing with matters of such vital importance.

Why is it when the record of current history of the Soviet Union is so clear, when the written and spoken words of its leaders are so specific in pointing to world domination as the basic objective of the Soviet Union, that some people and even some peoples believe that the Soviet Union is peace loving!

Again, I think that the answer is a simple one. They believe that the Soviet Union is peace loving because it says so and because it says so repeatedly in skillful, clever and sophisticated ways until the real record is forgotten. The agents of World Communism devote much more money, more time and more energy to propaganda than does the free world. Their immediate tasks are often simplified by the fact that they are completely unhampered by facts or truth in carrying out their mission.

Sometimes the object of Soviet propaganda is to disturb and confuse other peoples and sometimes its object is to lull them into a sense of security which may be entirely false. The 1955 Summit Conference was used by the worldwide apparatus of communism to convey the impression of respectability for the Soviet Union and to imply that the peoples of the west and of other parts of the free world had nothing to fear from Soviet policies. The Conference even included an agreement on German reunification which contributed much to a false spirit of sweetness and light, and which there was apparently no Soviet intent to honor in performance.

Soviet propaanda is beamed at a variety of targets and differs in its methods and objects depending on the target. As between NATO partners, such as Canada and the United States, the Soviet object is always to create dissension and arouse animosity.

As our Acting Secretary of State, Christian Herter, has recently stated, "The west's firmness should always be matched by a willingness to negotiate with the Soviet Union wherever and whenever a reasonable basis for negotiation exists. The United States,," he continued, "has followed this policy in the past and will continue to do so patiently and persistently."

We must and will continue to advance constructive proposals for the settlement of major international disputes. We cannot be overly sanguine of our success. It may take a long time for the Soviet Union to become convinced that it cannot succeed in its program of world domination—that the free world will not become deluded or weak or fail to stand up for what it believes.

As the U.S.S.R. learns this lesson, it will perhaps begin to see that its interests can be served by agreements which guarantee peace and security. This will come only when the Soviet Union recognizes that real coexistence, rather than world domination, is the only course open to it.

Being prudent and vigilant, and recognizing the lack of moral motivation in Soviet actions means that agreements reached with the Soviet Union must be of such a character as to be self-enforcing or subject to controls and must not be based solely on faith that the Soviet Union will do what it says.

As President Eisenhower said in his Second Inaugural Address, "No nation can longer be a fortress lone and strong and safe. Any people seeking such shelter for themselves can build only their own prison." This is true for the United States as for any other nation.

The free world not only has enormous military power, it has today the necessary power to present to any aggressor who would unleash war upon the world the prospect of virtual annihilation for his country.

That power provides a vital protective shield behind which efforts can be made to solve what has recently been described as "the major economic problem of the peoples of the free world", namely, "to learn how to strengthen each other so that they may live in prosperity and freedom in spite of the growing menace of Soviet economic imperialism and Communist Chinese economic throat-cutting."

Without military power that objective is impossible.

The free world not only has enormous military power, power, it has economic resources several times greater than those of the Soviet Union and in addition the overwhelming moral resources of the appeal against communist tyranny.

Canada and the United States have stood shoulder to shoulder with their allies in countering the Soviet threat. As allies in the defense of the North American continent and as allies in NATO they will continue to play a vital role in meeting this challenge. Together as partners and as allies they can and will contribute immeasurably to the cause which we all have at heart, the cause of freedom, security, and world peace.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Lt.-Col. Bruce Legge, President of The Empire Club.

"EMPIRE INTO COMMONWEALTH"

An Address by

SIR CHARLES ARDEN-CLARKE, G.C.M.G.,
Chairman, United Nations Good Offices
Committee on South-West Africa

Thursday, April 23, 1959

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. Bruce Legge.

LT.-COL. LEGGE: During the Crusades to the Holy Land, Richard the Lionhearted, King of England, took as his patron St. George who had been martyred by Diocletian in the persecutions of the year 303 A.D. Today is St. George's Day and it is most fitting that we should have as our guest of honour Sir Charles Arden-Clarke, a gentleman who has devoted his life to the service of England and to the people of Africa who have been helped to independence by the genius of our Commonwealth system and by the devotion of great British pro-consuls like Sir Charles.

In the year 1959 the whole continent of Africa is spotted by an epidemic of bubbling cauldrons. There is brutally terroristic warfare in Algeria and in our sister Dominion of South Africa there is the unswerving racist doctrine of Apartheid which even threatens to tear the universities asunder by separating the communities in every sphere of activity. In Egypt there is the vicious and hysterical propaganda of Arab nationalism, while in the Belgian Congo there are deadly riots reminiscent of the bloodshed and bestial acts of the Mau Mau which took place in Kenya not so long ago.

On the other hand, there are hopeful experiments taking place in the new independent African member of the Commonwealth, Ghana. Our speaker, like most great experts, loves his subject and Sir Charles' subject is Africa. He left school to join the Machine Gun Corps in the First World War and campaigned in France, Germany and Southern Russia. After the cessation of hostilities he entered the Colonial Service and spent sixteen years in Nigeria which was followed by service in Bechuanaland and Basutoland until 1946. On his next posting Sir Charles left Africa and went to Sarawak as the first Governor of the Colony after a century of rule by the white rajahs of the Brooke family. Then in 1949 he was given the vital assignment of Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Gold Coast which was in a state of irritable agitation and was suffering from a persistent rash of strikes and boycotts. Under the leadership of Dr. Nkrumhe's Convention Peoples Party immediate self-government was demanded. By 1951 Sir Charles had been able to work out a new constitution for the Gold Coast and then wisely and generously freed Dr. Nkrumhe from prison to lead the new Government. It is surely a tribute to the fairness and ability of Sir Charles that he was accepted by Dr. Nkrumhe as the first Governor General of the youngest member of the free Commonwealth.

Sir Charles Arden-Clarke is presently the Chairman of the United Nations Good Offices Committee on South-West Africa and I now have the honour to invite him to address The Empire Club of Canada on "Empire into Commonwealth".

SIR CHARLES ARDEN-CLARKE: During the past half-century the British, almost unknown to themselves, have been engaged on a great experiment, the transformation of an old-style Empire of dependent Colonies and Protectorates into a new-style Commonwealth of sovereign independent states and nations. This transformation seems to have come as a surprise to many and to be a cause of alarm and despondency to some. That India and Pakistan, with their teeming millions and ancient civilisations and culture, should achieve independence within two years of the end of World War II, after a relatively lengthy period of British rule, was generally accepted as proper and inevitable. It was the achievement of independence ten years later by the Gold Coast, now Ghana, and the Federation of Malaya, to be followed next year by Nigeria, with its 35 million people, (with other Colonies on the "independence production line") that has caused surprise and some anxiety.

There are three questions that I am often asked about this:—

1) Is the grant of independence to these African Colonies a new concept of British colonial policy?
2) Is a parliamentary democratic system of government on the British model regarded as the system best suited to such politically undeveloped people?
3) Why this rush to establish these new independent states under this alien system of government before the people are ready for it?

I will try and give some of the answers to these questions. To take my first question, the answer in my view is NO. I will instance West Africa, where I spent 24 years of my service. Nearly a hundred years ago, in 1864 to be precise, a Select Committee of the House of Commons dealing with West African affairs resolved:

> "The object of our policy should be to encourage in the natives the exercise of those qualities which may make it possible for us more and more to transfer to them the administration of all the governments."

That did not stop us acquiring sovereignity over further large areas and millions more natives in West Africa when, towards the end of the century, "the scramble for Africa" by the Great Powers was at its peak. We did not do this for love of sovereignty or power for its own sake, but because if we didn't, someone else would, the French, the Germans, or some other Power. The world needed and could no longer do without the products of those tropical lands, the vegetable oils, the timber, the minerals and so on; chaos prevailed out there and out of it order had to be produced. But our policy in the exercise of that sovereignty and our objective remained unchanged.

I will jump 56 years from the resolution of the Select Committee and come to my own personal experience. I went to Northern Nigeria in 1920 as an Administrative

Cadet, one of a batch of ex-officers demobilized from the Army at the end of World War I; a Cadet was the lowest form of life in the Colonial Administrative Service. We were all told that our job was to teach the people to stand on their own feet and manage their own affairs. The policy of "Indirect Rule", instituted by that great administrator, the late Lord Ingard, that prevailed in Northern Nigeria, was designed to that end. Few, if any, of us ever dreamed 40, 30, or even 20 years ago before the outbreak of World War II, that we would see the translation of an African Colonial Territory into a free and independent state within our working life time. Nevertheless we all realised that that was the ultimate objective of the policy we were required to carry out. The achievement of independence by dependent territories that prove themselves to be economically viable and capable of maintaining reasonable standards of administration seems to me to be the natural and inevitable outcome of British colonial policy during the past century. All too often that policy has not been lucidly stated and the measures for its execution have not been practically planned, hence, doubtless, the question whether the policy is new. It is not. What is new and surprising is the speed with which that policy has suddenly come to fruition. I will have more to say on this point when I come to my third question.

Let me take my second question—is a parliamentary democratic system of government on the British model regarded as the system best suited to these politically undeveloped peoples? It is only about 60 years ago that the boundaries of what we now know as Ghana and Nigeria were drawn, somewhat arbitrarily, upon the map of Africa and within those boundaries was a jumble of warring tribes, speaking different languages and without any form of central government. Today the tribes of Ghana live and work in peace together, speak of themselves as Ghanians, use English as their common and official language, and claim to be one nation governed by a central parliament, elected under universal adult suffrage. 60 years is not long in which to build a nation; it has taken us British many centuries to make the United Kingdom united. It has taken us many centuries to evolve a sound system of democratic government that suits us and which we are capable of working. It certainly does not follow that our present system will necessarily suit others living in different conditions, with a different background, different traditions, and in a different stage of political development. It would not, I imagine, be beyond the ingenuity of political philosophers or the skill of experienced administrators to work out a system of government which would seem, at any rate in logic or on paper, better suited to existing African conditions. However, I know of no serious attempt having been made to do so. The African, like ourselves, is "plain human" and is not wedded to logic. Our own proven system of government is human and humane; it is the only one of which we have recent experience and it is all we have to offer with any confidence to those of our wards, who have never had any well established form of central government of their own.

I must confess that at times, when I have been bedevilled by the delays, futilities and frustrations imposed by the democratic form of government, I have been tempted to think that a form of benevolent autocracy would suit local conditions better; there was, however, always an important proviso— that *I* should be the benevolent autocrat. As this proviso limited, somewhat severely, the application of this bright idea, I have always had to abandon it.

There is too a psychological aspect to this question of some alternative system of government. I doubt if any would prove acceptable to the people. The people have come to regard, indeed have been taught to regard, our British form of government, our parliamentary democratic system, as the best in the world. To suggest that some alternative, and therefore inferior, system would suit them better is, in their view, an insult; it is to suggest that they are themselves inferior and incapable of working the British system. If you will forgive a very broad generalization, the average African in these emergent territories is out to prove that he and his country are just as good as any European and his country. He recognises that there is much leeway to be made up, due in his view to centuries of neglect, oppression, exploitation or other causes for which he is not responsible, but that does not make him inherently inferior to the European in character or capability. That attitude of mind affects not only constitutional questions but almost every problem, with which an administrator is faced, and cannot be disregarded. We must, of course, recognize that the virtues of parliamentry democracy as a form of government may well diminish in the eyes of political leaders and others when it is no longer a question of wresting power from alien hands but of keeping it in their own. They may begin to think, like me, that benevolent autocracy (with the same proviso) is possibly better suited to local conditions and, unlike me, they may go a step further and put that thought into action.

I have answered my first two questions by saying that independence for African colonies is no new concept of British colonial policy, in fact that it is the natural and inevitable out-come of that policy over the past century; and that it is also natural and almost inevitable that independence should be achieved under a form of parliamentary democratic government at the centre, where no well-established indigenous form of central government had existed before our advent.

That brings me to my third question, why this rush to establish these new independent states under this alien system of government before the people are ready for it or, perhaps I should say, before the people have been adequately prepared for it? The short answer is, we can't help it. But that needs some amplification and explanation. There are many factors that dictate the speed of a Colony's progress to independence and not all of them are under our control.

One of the most important factors to my mind is this. We govern our Colonies and Protectorates, not by force but with the consent or at least the acquiescence of the bulk of the population. Once the people, under the stimulus of their political leaders, refuse to acquiesce any longer in alien domination and claim their independence, the governing power can do one of two things; it can stay and govern against the will of the people and that means using force, and usually a lot of force involving a lot of bloodshed, or it can transfer power to the people in such manner and at such pace as the circumstances may require.

The pace varies enormously. In those territories where political dominance is exercised by a small minority of one race, better educated and with a higher standard of living, resident among a large majority of another race with little or no education and a low standard of living, the problem is complex and progress towards independence is likely to be difficult and the pace slower. When you have a reasonably homogeneous, indigenous population, as in West Africa, where the few thousand non-Africans living there are practically all temporary sojourners who return to their own homelands when their period of work there is over, the problem is comparatively simple, or at least less complex and the pace is likely to be faster.

When I was in Ghana I was asked one day by my Ministers, who had been discussing the question at some length among themselves, what form a suitable memorial to independence should take. I suggested twin columns, crowned by outsize effigies of a mosquito and tsetse-fly; it was those two insects that had prevented alien settlement, saved the country from the racial problems that were bedevilling so many other parts of the Continent, and so let them get their independence first. My suggestion was rejected.

Obviously the governing power, before abdicating its responsibilities in any territory, must satisfy itself that the country is economically viable and capable of paying its own way without outside assistance and that the government to which it hands over power is acceptable to the majority of the people and is capable of keeping the peace within its borders and maintaining a reasonable standard of administration. If these criteria are fulfilled, and they are fairly straightforward and not too difficult to assess in a country with a homogenous population, then it is indeed dangerous to attempt to resist a popularly supported demand for national independence. Freedom is a fundamental ideal of human nature and has a potent and universal appeal. It is this freedom from alien domination that gives every nationalist movement its strength. I saw something of its strength and the potency of its appeal during my eight years in Ghana.

The road to independence is like driving along a deeply corrugated road and we were all in the same car. As all know, who have driven their cars along such roads, which are common in Africa, there is only one safe pace and that is dictated by the weight and power of the car and the depth of the corrugations. If one goes too fast, one bounces into the ditch; too slow and the car shakes itself to pieces. We had to find the right pace for the Gold Coast car. Some thought that 60 miles an hour or more was the right pace, and others would have preferred to travel at 20 miles an hour. In the event we compromised at about 40. The car stayed on the road and arrived intact at its journey's end, independence. The "Now, now, now" of the C.P.P. lasted some seven years before self-government, and independence, was achieved, and achieved with friendship and goodwill on both sides. I do not know whether it would have been possible to slow things down and still retain that goodwill; and if that goodwill had been lost, it is doubtful whether Ghana would still be a member of the Commonwealth.

It is important that these newly emergent independent countries should remain as members of the Commonwealth. For the Commonwealth is playing and must continue to play a vital role in world affairs and the preservation of peace, and its growth and influence must be fostered. Recently I have had an opportunity of watching the United Nations Organisation at work and not long ago I spent a couple of weeks in New York attending sessions of its Fourth Committee. (I was there in my capacity of United Kingdom representatives on, and Chairman of, the United Nations Good Offices Committee on South West Africa.) I don't propose to air my views here on the United Nations Organisation, even if they are worth airing after such a brief experience. U.N.O. is there and we have got to have it. All I want to say now is that my brief personal contact with the United Nations has convinced me more than ever of the tremendous value, not merely to Great Britain, but to the whole world, and to be the cause of world peace, of our Commonwealth; of the way it works and attempts to put into practice the ideals that inspire it and hold it together.

The Commonwealth has been described in various ways, as a family, as a club, as a brotherhood based on common ideals of freedom, justice, the rule of law and democratic government. This is how the Head of the Commonwealth, Her Majesty the Queen, described it in one of her Christmas broadcasts:—

> "The Commonwealth bears no resemblance to the empires of the past. It is an entirely new concept—built on the highest qualities of the spirit of man: friendship, loyalty and the desire for freedom and peace"

and Her Majesty went on to dedicate herself anew to "that new conception of an equal partnership of nations and races".

It is indeed this conception of equal partnership, based on friendship and actuated by mutual tolerance and goodwill, that differentiates the Commonwealth from the United Nations Organisation and gives the Commonwealth its vital part in world affairs. It is these ideals, these qualities that must be fostered, of transforming our old style conduct of this experiment, on which we are embarked, of transforming our old style Empire into an "equal partnership of nations and races", our new style Commonwealth.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Lt.-Col. Montague, Past President of the Club.

"OIL, POWER POLITICS AND THE ARAB AWAKENING"

An Address by

BRIGADIER STEPHEN LONGRIGG, O.B.E., D. Litt.
Expert on Middle East Oil and Politics

Thursday, April 30, 1959

CHAIRMAN: The President, Lt.-Col. Bruce Legge.

LT.-COL. LEGGE: Brigadier Stephen Longrigg, O.B.E., and Doctor of Literature, is such a pre-eminent authority in his fields of knowledge—Oil and Power Politics in the Arab World—that I am certain, when he agreed last winter to speak to The Empire Club of Canada, he foresaw a continuing crisis in the Middle East this spring.

Scarcely more than two weeks ago, the Arab Oil Congress opened in Cairo. At the same time, the Arab League's propaganda machine continued its war-like tirades and assaults against Premier Kassem's infamous Iraq which is alleged to be controlled by Communists although accepted by Britain because Iraq is hostile to Nasser. Of course, the Iraqi Government and the Iraq Petroleum Company boycotted the conference but these abstentions have not inhibited controversy in the inflammable affairs of politics and petroleum. One of the speakers at the Oil Congress went so far as to raise the direct question of foreign oil companies and to say that a sovereign government, acting in the service of its people, would be justified in breaking a contract with an oil concessionary. This provocative thesis was sustained not by an Arab firebrand but by an American oil adviser.

In the same week, the military critic of the *New York*

Times, Hanson W. Baldwin, analysed intelligence reports which seemed to indicate that the Soviet's penetrations towards Iraq and Iran were far more perilous than the blatantly advertised crisis scheduled for Berlin on May the 27th. And always in the background is the Soviet sensitivity to the need for oil, and this necessity has resulted in an expanding seven-year plan to double the present annual production of the U.S.S.R. by 1965. Thus Brigadier Longrigg's subject of "Oil and Power Politics in the Arab World" is entirely appropriate on this last day of April, 1959, and our speaker is ideally suited to describe this complex of crises.

Stephen Longrigg attended Oriel College, Oxford, and after service in Mesopotamia in the First World War, he was appointed a government official in Iraq. He became an orientalist and historian, publishing his first book on Iraq in 1925. Then in 1931 he joined the Iraq Petroleum Company and served for twenty years in Palestine, Syria, Iraq, the Persian Gulf and Saudi Arabia. During the Second World War he rejoined the Army and after serving on the General Staff, was appointed Governor of the former Italian Colonies of Cyrenaica, Somalia and Eritrea. Brigadier Longrigg is also a linguist, lecturer and noted writer who has published many books on the Middle East. In 1955 his contributions to learning were recognized by Oxford University which awarded him its coveted degree of Doctor of Literature.

Gentlemen, I am pleased to introduce to The Empire Club of Canada Brigadier Stephen Longrigg, distinguished soldier, oilman, public servant and man of letters, who will tell us about the many-sided story of "Oil, Power Politics and the Arab Awakening".

BRIGADIER LONGRIGG: The subject of my talk—which was not chosen by me—suggests a tripartite content, and I shall try to say something on each of the three parts mentioned in it, and also on the connection between them.

The subject is a very familiar one, and I am afraid that nothing I shall be able to say will be new to those among you who keep abreast of Middle Eastern matters. I shall reveal no hitherto unsuspected facts (since probably I don't know any) and I shall make few attempts to prophesy the future. My best hope is that I may at some point suggest a line of thought unfamiliar to some of my listeners. The opinions I express are, of course, strictly personal to me. The oil of the Middle East is not a commodity found in *all* those countries, nor even in a majority of them. The Yemen, the Aden protectorate, Western and Central and South Eastern Arabia, the Sudan, Libya, Jordan, Syria, and the Lebanon have no oil of their own at all. Egypt has a small but very useful quantity. Israel and Turkey have only a very little. The only oil-rich countries are those of Iraq, Persia and Saudi Arabia and the three tiny Persian Gulf principalities of Kuwait, Qatar and Bahrain; but Jordan, Syria and Lebanon—and Egypt with its Canal—have a very important transit function.

This Middle East Oil is a vast natural resource which has come to light in an area of age-long poverty and it can make—or rather it is already making—an extremely important contribution to their potential—and, let us sincerely hope, to their happiness. Oil in that region was first discovered fifty years ago, but its output only became important from a world point of view during the last two decades and really only acquired its present outstanding position in the last ten years. Today it forms an extremely significant (and extremely *timely*) contribution to world resources; and its development by the most modern technologies and by means of enormous western-owned industrial installations, forms a striking and highly picturesque contrast to the simple and relatively primitive scenes and modes of life in the countries themselves, whose economy oil is in process of transforming.

Middle Eastern oil is found in remarkably favourable conditions. To begin with, the actual oil-containing structures in the earth are highly unusual in their vast scale and their regularity. They seem to be copied from the text books. They lend themselves to steady, regular, economical development with the prospect of maximum ultimate recovery. The productivity of individual wells is on a scale hundreds per cent greater than that found elsewhere in the world—for instance in North America—and this means that comparatively few wells easily produce what is required. Single wells producing 50,000 or in some cases 100,000 barrels a day, are not at all uncommon. As to quality, in spite of rather too high a sulphur content, Middle Eastern oil is perfectly manageable, pumpable and refinable. The oil fields offer easy access. They are surrounded by no marshes, jungles or wild mountain-ranges; they lie in open country, flat or undulating or hilly. The climate of the region is admittedly hot but is far from unhealthy. There is available a labour force of willing and intelligent workers who acquire the necessary skills, and resign themselves to an industrial type of life, with great rapidity, and, thanks to the efforts of the great British and American oil companies in exactly this sense, the day is not distant when almost the whole of technical as well as non-technical processes will be carried out by natives of these countries. As to outlets, there is easy access to deep water nearly everywhere by shorter or longer pipe lines, and the relative remoteness of the area from the world's major markets merely means a few cents a barrel added to the cost.

The production from Middle Eastern fields in 1958 was not more than some 215 million tons of crude: that is about a *quarter* of the total oil used in the world that year. This amount, though second only to United States production in the same year, is petty compared with the output which, one can be quite certain, will be demanded and realised in a few years. I have no doubt that by 1969 Middle Eastern production will be of the order of 400 million tons a year and by 1979 will probably be little short of 1,000 million tons, an amount far greater than any other region is at all likely to be producing. As to "proved reserves", they are such as to make such promises as these easy of fulfilment; they amount in fact to something between two-thirds and three-quarters of the total liquid petroleum resources so far discovered in the *world*.

In passing, how likely is it that oil itself will cease to be in demand in the fairly near future, when atomic power really gets under way? It is, in my view, not likely at all; the world's demand for energy increases annually and will continue to do so, and I have no doubt that *all* forms of energy-production—the atom, oil, coal, hydroelectricity and anything else which may be mobilised to help—will have to play their part, and the part of oil will always be a major one. Nor should one forget that there will always be purposes for which petroleum will remain far the best power-producing material, just as it will always supply what is required for the great (and potentially enormous) petro-chemical industry.

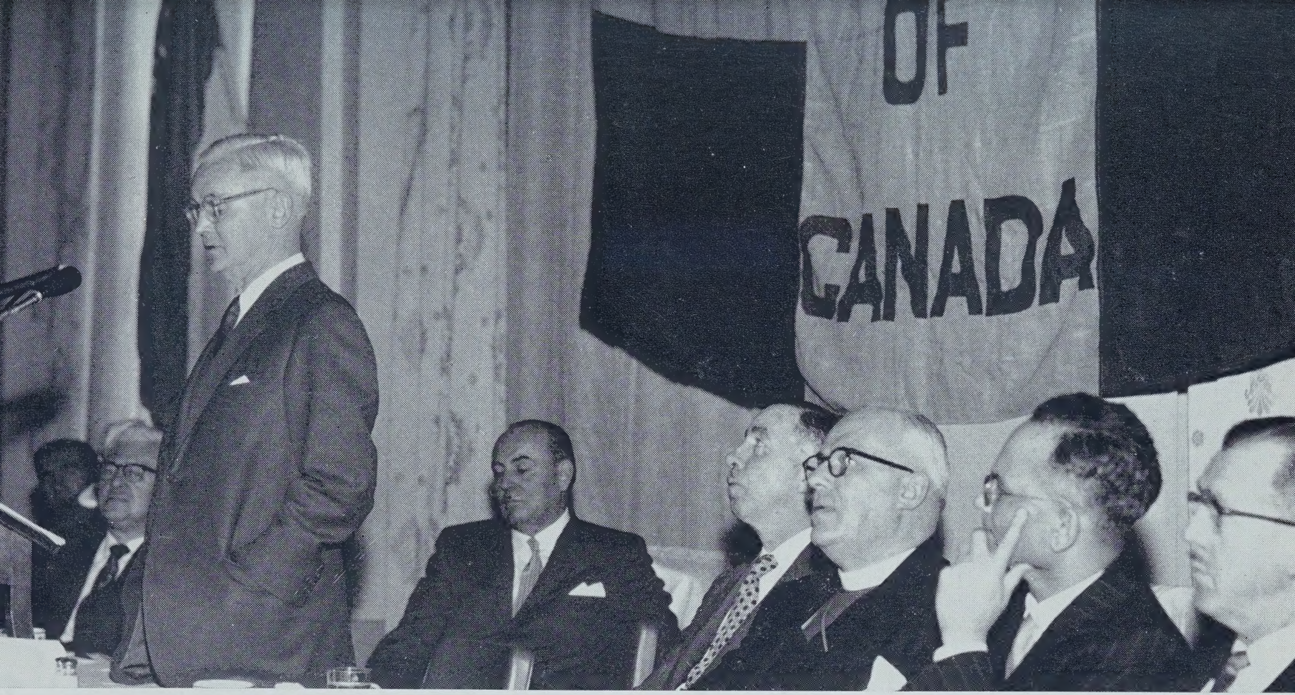
One other point, extremely relevant to my present subject: that is the present and unquestionably the equal future dependence of Northern, Western and Southern Europe, together with Africa and most of Asia and Australasia upon the Middle East for their petroleum. Since the demand for oil will rise enormously in those areas which at present use very little, and will rise scarcely less in the great industrial areas where usage is already great, supplies for all these purposes must come from somewhere. Now there are in the Eastern Hemisphere, outside the Iron Curtain, no signs at present of any supplies capable of furnishing these needs, and it is not, I fear, very likely that future discovery—in spite of most active and expensive exploration going on in literally scores of countries—will reveal anything upon the scale required. Everything points, therefore, to the continuance of Middle Eastern oil as the unique supplier of the Eastern Hemisphere—unless an alternative source can be found in the Western Hemisphere, that is in North or Central America? And how likely is this? It is not very likely. If the Western Hemisphere can remain self-sufficient in oil for (one hopes) a fair number of years, that, I am afraid, is the most that can be reasonably hoped for. Venezuela has a large exportable surplus which is eagerly gobbled up by her South American neighbours and by the United States and Canada. The latter is herself today an importing country, and the United States, which has always been the giant in the oil world, both in production and consumption, is today a major importing area. Limited supplies may indeed still, upon occasion, cross the Atlantic from West to East, but this will be only in the form of special products, or on a quite short term basis to supply some sudden need. The old days when the Western Hemisphere regularly supplied the Eastern have gone forever, and the job inevitably falls now and hence forward on this small group of Persian Gulf countries of which I am speaking.

It would be highly satisfactory to be able to say at this point that the Middle Eastern area, so vital to us, is one of stability and goodwill towards us; but unfortunately the very opposite is the case. The region has been for some years, and still is, one of restlessness, disturbance and *dis*-continuity. It is the area in which since the early 19th Century an ancient Islamic and almost static civilisation, which carried no political responsibilities and which received no political training, has been invaded by all the upsetting, sophisticating, sometimes corrupting forces of the West. Through every sort of door—books and papers, educational institutions, missions, archaeologists, engineers and men of commerce, shipping lines, telegraphs, diplomats and travellers—there has surged into the Middle East the ideas, assumptions, conceptions and practices of Europe. This flow of influences was not pre-selected: it contained equally the good and the bad, it often failed to convey to its uncritical recipients whatever *we* feel to be the best and most precious elements in Western civilisation, and led them to accept instead much that was inferior or unessential. And the Middle Eastern acceptance of this mixture, now in progress for a century and a half, has inevitably been accompanied by the loss of a good deal that was valuable and stable or stabilising (as well as dignified, pleasing and picturesque) in the old civilisation of Western Asia. It has led to a weakening and often a distruction of old loyalties, decencies and restraints, and to the formation of a hybrid type of culture in what has been called (too severely, I think) a moral vacuum. These things are due to too rapid an evolutionary transition carried out in an especially sensitive part of the world—a world too restless, too full of problems and uncertainties to allow the Middle Eastern peoples a tranquil field in which to realise this most difficult phase of evolution.

But of the reality of the Arab Awakening, there is no doubt at all. On the cultural and social side, where the movement began, there is a record of much growth and change, in writing, in social habits, material equipment, ideas and aspirations. In the political field there have been successive phases, still moving and changing, which have brought us to the interesting and disquieting phenomena we observe today. The most obvious of these, the child of modern political self-consciousness and of an emotional national pride, is *Arab nationalism*, still the dominant force in the whole area. It is a movement based on conceptions borrowed essentially from Europe, since political nationalism is unknown in Islam and indeed the conception of a temporal state (other than one embodying the whole Moslem community itself) was foreign to the great days of Islam. The Middle Eastern nationalism of today often carries qualities of devotion and sincerity and with its content of real patriotism certainly cannot be condemned off-hand by us, whatever its occasional extravagances; but it is highly emotional, often it is displeasingly boastful, egotistical, narrow, suspicious of non-Arab outsiders, sensitive with the touchiness of adolescence to imaginary affronts. In the looks which Arab nationalism directs abroad, there is today a strong element of suspicion of the foreigner and above all suspicion of, and ill-will towards, the Western nations who were for scores or hundreds of years the powerful and envied leaders of the world, who had the wealth and progress which the Middle East admired but could not attain—and who too obviously took for granted their own superiority. By reaction against all this, the Middle Eastern peoples (and with them, of course, many other nations of Asia and Africa, since this is only part of a world-wide phenomenon of emergence and retaliation) today judge the West with harshness and rancour and one looks sadly and in vain for any substantial remains of the good-will and respect which Western nations believed only recently that they enjoyed in that area—and which some may feel they deserved by their very real services rendered there. On the contrary, the atmosphere in Arab political circles today in almost every country is, as we all know, predominantly anti-Western. The West is blamed for events in the remote and also in the recent past, is blamed for its alleged lack of sympathy, its bad manners and its airs of superiority. It is blamed for its tenacity in matters affecting its rights or claims, and for its failure to gratify every Middle Eastern demand; and to these often unjust and unhistorical allegations (all of which are swallowed whole by local patriots and by every student) is today added the ill-will which survives from the now vanished Mandate System imposed by the League of Nations in 1920, with the best intentions; from memories of military intervention during the second world war; and from the foundation of the State of Israel, greatest of blows to Arab pride and greatest of all the offences of the West at Arab expense; and finally of course from the still unforgiven Suez episode.

In the international sphere, the Arab nationalists of today officially profess *neutralism*, desiring to avoid commitment to either of two great power blocs, while enjoying the benefits from both. This neutralism corresponds to a psychological need of non-involvement, to a simple craving for safety, to Arab exclusiveness, and to fear of adhesion to what may turn out to be the losing side. The policy has sometimes in Egypt and Syria, and today in Iraq, seemed to Western observers to lean a good deal too far towards the East—and indeed there is today a quantity of obvious Russian influence in Baghdad which we cannot think healthy or pleasant to observe. Nevertheless, neutralism is still the foreign doctrine of all the nationalist Arab states, even though in Egypt at this moment it seems to mean not so much a good or tolerable relation with both blocs as bad terms with both. The gaining and retention of powerful foreign friends, which Arab states would have no great difficulty in achieving if they liked, seems curiously enough not to be among their desiderata—or rather takes second place, or no place, compared with the expression of their own angry frustrations.

Within the Arab world, nationalism is today flowing in two easily distinguishable channels. One is that favoured by the President of Egypt, Gamal Abdul Nasser, and by his followers in every Arab country. It is that which, by an extension of the United Arab Republic, would integrate, or at least closely federate, the now separate Arab states, and would weld them into a single political unit, a great Arab Nation intended fitly to represent in the political world the very real Arab unity which already exists in the linguistic, cultural, historical, traditional, religious and social world. "Nasserites" therefore in Iraq, Jordan and



The Hon. Richard B. Wigglesworth Meeting, April 16th, 1959. *From Left to Right:* Mayor Nathan Phillips; Hon. Richard B. Wigglesworth; B. T. Richardson; Hon. Kelso Roberts; Rt. Rev. F. H. Wilkinson; Jules Beauroy; Clyde Larkin.

Sir Charles Arden-Clarke Meeting, April 23rd, 1959.

Lebanon, and in the Persian Gulf principalities, press and agitate by all the means at their command (which of course vary from country to country) for a sacrifice of sovereignty by the now independent countries (such as Syria made in February, 1958) and adhesion to the U.A.R. This is the Pan-Arab view: ideologically attractive but pregnant with immediate psychological and administrative difficulties. The alternative view is that held by the governments of the non-absorbed states. It is, that their present separate statehood suits them best, while not precluding close and fraternal relations with and among their sister Arab states. They are proud of and mean to preserve the national independence which they have painfully gained since 1918, and the idea of becoming a non-sovereign part of an Egypt-dominated state (as it would certainly be) with loss of prestige and status and jobs, and probably part of their revenue too, does not appeal to them. It is a clash between these two views, expressed with increasingly angry emotion and mutual accusations in true Arab style, which led to the attempts of the U.A.R. to take over Jordan and Lebanon in 1958, and to the explosive relations between Cairo and Baghdad today. It is the desire for support against the Nasserite unifiers that seems to have driven the present military ruler of Iraq, Brigadier Abdul Karim Kassem, to accept so much Communist support, to which recent reports from Baghdad testify. And persuasive over the whole field of Arab public life is the emotional individualism, the intransigeance, the lack of restraint and compromise which marks the Arab character in political life. Indeed these features of the Arab public character, which contrast so strangely with their outstanding social gifts and charms, their lifely intelligence and humour, are those which make their political inter-relations so difficult and stormy, render the task of foreign diplomats an unenviable one, and preclude the establishment of any real democracy among them, since the qualities of give-and-take and tolerance which it demands are conspicuously lacking.

The Middle Eastern region itself is, by general consent, a vital one in politico-strategic terms by its position astride three continents, its control of narrow seas, and the great trunk routes used by peoples and armies throughout history (routes and sea-lanes which, incidentally link the Eastern and Western members of our own Commonwealth of Nations) and its ports and pipelines and air-fields. It is a region occupied by four major culture-groups (the Turkish, the Persian, the Israeli, and the Arab) and by a score of independent states of many geographic and economic orientations, and in many stages of evolution, all politically immature, all militarily weak, and yet all so placed in the world of sentiment and religion that their decisions and their destinies must greatly influence those of other nations (for instance, those of South East Asia with their teeming millions of Moslems). It is the unique homeland of Islam, Christianity and Judaism. With all this, the presence of vast oil resources cannot but create stress and strain both within the area as between the oil-rich and the rest, and also from outside it—in the attitude of, for instance, Russia, towards an area so near, so rich and so weak. A very particular interest is inevitably taken in these areas also, it is obvious, by the nations of Europe and America whose great oil companies are carrying out the tasks of oil development.

The Middle Eastern area is the immediate neighbour of Russia, and that on the side of the Russian Empire's "soft under-belly", the least secure of all its frontiers: and the U.S.S.R. professes (exactly as Hitler did in 1936-39) to fear "encirclement". Hence its dislike of allegedly encircling action taken by the Baghdad Pact powers. Herein lies one of Russia's motives for her attempted penetration of the Middle East; but there are other motives also, a good deal more real. One is the mere crude expansionism which was the keynote of Russian policy in Western Asia throughout Czarist times—a policy rewarded by the acquisition of Central Asia and of trans-Caucasia in the 18th and 19th centuries, and a policy frankly admitted by Molotov in 1942. Another clear motive is the desire to upset the world balance of power by the acquisition of this supersensitive strategic area containing a dozen sovereign states, and to use these, perhaps, as a bridge-head for further penetration in Asia and Africa. And, finally, the U.S.S.R. would prize nothing so much as the chance, by subverting and misleading the Middle Eastern oil-producing states, to cause these to repudiate their oil concessions with the Western companies or to demand unconscionable terms or somehow else to achieve the extremely serious blow to the West which is implicit in the withholding of these vital supplies.

If these, however crudely expressed, *are* the Russian objectives in the Middle East, what are ours? They are, I believe, objectives completely unexceptionable and in no way deserving of the antipathy and abuse with which the West is almost universally treated in the Middle East nowadays. We ask nothing irregular, unusual or privileged. We desire that region to be progressive, prosperous, peaceful and above all *stable* in its society and its government. We should like those nations to avoid any excessive drawing-near to the Soviet bloc simply because we are sure that it would in the long term be disastrous to them as well as very serious to us. We would wish to be in a position to help, if need be, certain old friends of ours in the area—the Persian Gulf Shaikhs and Sultans, the rulers in the Aden Protectorate — friends whom we cannot simply abandon to be gobbled up (as they certainly would be) by Saudi Arabia and the Yemen. We would like to be sure that the great trans-regional communications shall be available for our use, just as for that of any other friendly nation. We want continued access to the oil-fields. Finally, we want *good will*—as much as possible from as many elements as possible, in place of the too-obvious ill-will. Given that, all else would follow—if only we knew just how to set about getting it! I have no doubt at all that the "problem of the Middle East", so often vaguely referred to as an unsolved conundrum, is simply the problem of attracting the confidence and friendship of the elements in that region in whom power is vested, so that we and they can pull together—insofar as we, being foreigners, are allowed to help in pulling—towards the realisation of stability, progress and a better life for them. If the problem were (as it would have been in the old days) one of asserting military strength, imposing discipline or exacting privileges, it would be relatively easy; but in the conditions of the mid-20th century with so many brand-new sovereign states all articulate and self-conscious, and all inviolable and free to do practically anything with complete impunity, the situation of a Western power with important interests in those countries is not a happy one

Because it is a matter of immediate interest, I will here pose the specific question "how likely are the Governments of the Middle East oil-producing states to *cancel* concessions, or to make continued operation of them impossible by a policy of pin pricks or inordinate demands, or to nationalise and throw the companies out?" One must remember that nationalism in some form is undoubtedly a long term objective of most of the Governments concerned: it would flatter their amour-propre, and it would be politically popular. Such a policy is favoured even today by not a few hot-headed politicians, and it would have (as I have said already) any backing that the U.S.S.R. could give it. It happened in Persia in 1951 and, with economic considerations always taking a very poor second place to political in Arab countries (and in Persia), the possibility of such an eventuality cannot be denied.

At the same time, against Governmental or popular ill-will, such as could lead to disruptive action in the sphere of oil supplies, there are also fairly strong inhibiting factors. These are obvious and familiar enough. The first one is simply that of geese and golden eggs. The immediate effect of a disruption of a company's operations, if it came to that, would be stoppage of Government revenue —the revenue which, being up to 90 per cent of the total receipts of some of these Governments, sustains their development schemes, their public services, their civil and military staffs—and everything else that has to be paid for. Add to this, a stoppage (which would follow) of the local purchases of the Company and local contracts, and the dismissal, I suppose, of hundreds or thousands of well-paid Company's workers. All this would, in such a case, add up to a crushing blow to the Government, to public solvency and prosperity.

An ill-affected Government may well realise today, moreover, that such a stoppage would probably *not* be followed by a collapse and surrender by the company. Unless all or most of the middle-eastern producing States closely synchronized their anti-company moves (which I can scarcely imagine), any one such action would more probably simply step up the production of its neighbours. If Iraq and/or Persia went out of production, it would not be too difficult for the companies concerned to get their requirements, at least as a short-term substitute from Kuwait or Saudi Arabia or Qatar—and so on!

Governments may have learnt, by now, another lesson from Persia: it is that, having precipitated a stoppage in your oil-industry, you may find it far from easy to get started again. Local workers can undoubtedly produce oil from the existing wells, can even drill more wells, can operate pipelines and storage and simple distillation units; but what about working capital, essential supplies from abroad, the indispensable outside industrial and commercial connexions, teams of fully competent technologists and managers and research-workers, and above all *outlets* —that is *markets*, and people to send tankers to your ports and carry away and *pay for* your oil. Merely to sell a few cargoes of crude to the Japanese or Italians is very, very far from running the industry so as to produce anything at all like the present revenues, or to secure the future. Experience in Persia showed that a complete rebasing and restarting of the industry takes not weeks but years—and the revenues lost in the meanwhile can never be recovered, even if the markets, or some of them ultimately can. In a word, the now obvious difficulty, delay and loss in restarting the industry, once stopped, under whatever auspices, might well give pause to enthusiastic nationalisers.

And there are other probable inhibiting factors. One is, that in any one of the transit states, disruptive action would not penalize only the company (and of course the transit State itself), it would penalize also (as we saw in 56/57) the countries farther east whose oil was denied its pipeline or canal outlet. Anti-western fervour and malice are strong stimulants, and pan Arabists in Iraq or Saudi Arabia might not relish protesting against their neighbours' actions so inspired: but, since they've now experienced, in terms of millions of dollars irrevocably lost to them, just what this sort of thing can mean, they will possibly henceforth use their influence against such measures.

As for all this Middle Eastern area as a whole, its trials, stresses and troubles, which worry us all so much, it is certain that there is no quick or easy formula for curing them. These troubles come from deep underlying causes, psychological and historical, which will not soon be removed. No expert, and no Foreign Minister, will be able to say one fine morning "Gentlemen, congratulate me! I have found the answer." There is no single answer of that kind at all and moreover the other great participant, the U.S.S.R., who has no intention of withdrawing her efforts in that area, is a very skillful and formidable opponent. Nevertheless I believe that all is far from being lost. I believe that *if* we show patience and restraint, more than we have sometimes done in the past: and *if* we have towards these people the same sort of goodwill that we are never tired of asking *them* to show *us*, and a high measure of human comprehension and sympathy, and *if* we scrupulously respect their sovereign status and their right to choose their own forms and policies, and give them reasonable practical help without strings (and without any parade of our generosity) when they ask for it, and *if* we improve our publicity and information output and *if* we try to understand the successive situations as seen through their eyes, then I think there is hope for us. There is hope, too, in the healing action of time, in the growing realisation of our real fundamental identity of interests with theirs, and in the probability that our opponents will, in their turn, make bad mistakes and incur odium. Specifically, I would say, let us be aware that the Middle Eastern situation is essentially a new one on the world stage, and let us, above all, avoid resented interventions and galling interferences and cling instead to what I believe to be the policy of true wisdom—that of (in two words) benevolent non-involvement.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Harold Lawson, First Vice-President of the Club.

ANNUAL MEETING

Thursday, April 30, 1959

PRESIDENT'S REPORT: This is the Annual Meeting of The Empire Club of Canada for the year 1958-1959 and it is the duty of the President to submit a report of the year's proceedings together with an interim financial statement. As always, the audited financial statement for the year will be published in the Empire Club Year Book. It is often said by way of criticism that in North America we are chiefly concerned with size, with statements of profit and loss and with the counting of noses. In The Empire Club of Canada these matters are not of exclusive importance and above all we place the pleasurable duty of serving the objective of the Club which is the advancement of the interests of Canada and a united Commonwealth and Empire.

However, even in the realm of facts and figures, the Club has continued its impressive career. Financially, for example, it is confidently predicted that we will end the year with a deficit of only four or five hundred dollars due to the increased cost of operating antd the necessity of refurbishing the Club office at 14 Elm Street. On the advice of the Budget and Finance Committee, under the chairmanship of the First Vice-President Mr. Harold Lawson, the Board of Directors has already decided that the prestige and effectiveness of the Empire Club can only be maintained by increasing the general membership fee from five to six dollars with similar adjustments for our special categories of membership.

In terms of numbers, the statistics are encouraging and the Club succeeded in maintaining its rolls at more than twenty-four hundred, and the Membership Committee, under the inspired and persevering leadership of Harold Lawson recruited some two hundred and forty new members whom we welcome most warmly. On the whole, our luncheons were well attended and averaged for twenty-eight meetings some two hundred and two members.

The Speakers Committee succeeded in obtaining thirteen Canadian speakers, including the Honourable, The Leader of the Opposition. Unfortunately, because of the pressure of his prime ministerial duties, we had to postpone the meeting which was to have been addressed by the Right Honourable John Diefenbaker. However, we have been assured by the Prime Minister of Canada that, if at all possible, he will open our next session on Thursday the first day of October, 1959. Then too, there was the tragic and unexpected death of the Honourable Sidney Smith, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, who was to have spoken to a joint meeting of The Canadian Club of Toronto and The Empire Club of Canada on the Monday following his death, the twenty-third of March. In tribute to a great Canadian, both the Canadian Club and the Empire Club cancelled this meeting.

We have also had four influential American speakers who, without exception dealt with subjects of international importance. The Honourable Charles E. Wilson, the former Secretary of Defence in Mr. Eisenhower's Government spoke on Canadian-American relations. Rabbi Maurice Eisendrath of New York City eloquently challenged us on the needs of others and on the responsibilities which we in North America must bear towards those in less favoured lands. The Honourable G. Mennen Williams, six times Governor of the State of Michigan, addressed us on the "Free World's Stake in the Under-developed Countries". Finally, we were honoured with an address by the Honourable R. B. Wigglesworth, the United States Ambassador in Ottawa, who told us about the "Objectives of the Soviets".

Both by the prominence of the speakers and the importance of their subjects we enjoyed hearing a most impressive group of ten British and Commonwealth speakers. To illustrate the service which they rendered the Club, I will simply refer to the first three, beginning with Viscount Knollys, the President of Vickers Limited. He was, in turn, followed by Sir Grantley Adams, the Premier of The West Indies, and next by Sir John Greaves who told us about the then Commonwealth trouble spot, Cyprus. I would therefore like to thank all the members of the Speakers Committee (which is the special charge of the President) for the success they brought to the Club in the suitability and quality of their speakers.

May I also speak with cordiality of the close friendship and co-operation we have enjoyed with The Canadian Club of Toronto under the presidency of Mr. B. T. Richardson, with the Royal Commonwealth Society under the leadership of General Sir Neil Ritchie and of the help we received from the Toronto Artillery Officers' Association under the chairmanship of Brigadier Airey, in arranging a joint meeting in honour of Sir Vivian Fuchs.

Mr. Alexander Stark, Q.C., the Second Vice-President and Chairman of the Head Table Committee invariably invited an imposing group of guests of Canadian and international importance. His arrangements were faultless and we may be very proud of Alexander Stark's standard of perfect protocol and warm hospitality.

In the tricky field of Publicity and Public Relations we are most indebted to Mr. Sidney Fletcher whose Committee ensured that the Empire Club was well reported in the Press. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation has done us and the radio audience a fine service by carrying all our meetings except the Christmas Party. We cannot speak too highly of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's Program Producer, Mr. Reid Forsee, and of his talented colleagues whom we thank for their splendid public spirit.

In this year of change, the Constitution Committee was guided by Mr. Palmer Kent, Q.C., who ably and patiently drafted and re-drafted the amendments to the Constitution as required by the Provincial Secretary and by an exacting Executive Committee. The Reception Committee under its traditional Chairman, Mr. Ford Ralph, continued to show that there was genuine friendliness and comradeship in the "dear old Empire Club".

Since 1903, the Year Book Committee has produced a most commendable and unique publication. This Committee continues to thrive under the skillful cajoling of Mr. Z. S. Phimister, our Third Vice-President who has kept up to date the editing of the speeches and we are assured of an early publication of the 1958-59 Year Book. This Committee is much lauded for the distinction it brings to the Club. In this regard the contributions of the T. H. Best Printing Company Limited must be acknowledged as a labour of love and not of profit. Mr. Douglas Best, a member of the Executive will, I trust, convey our thanks to his father and to the firm.

Despite the hazards of a monumental building program, much of our comfort as a Club can be attributed to the faultless organization and the extraordinary interest which Mr. Angus McKinnon, the incomparable Manager of the Royal York Hotel, has shown. All of his staff have exercised the best of care for the welfare of the Empire Club.

As sometimes occurs in societies like ours, this was a year of great change because of the retirement of Mr. Ernest Miles who had been our inspired and meticulous Secretary for many years. We also lost the services of Mr. Walter Comber, C.A., whose fine mind for detail and never varying courtesy helped maintain the excellent administration of our Club during his tenure as Treasurer. Both these gentlement have agreed to continue on our Board of Directors and their experience and wisdom will be of much assistance to our new President. Mr. Comber and Mr. Miles were succeeded by Mr. Vernon Hearst, Q.C., in the new role of Secretary-Treasurer and I would like to thank him for his ready response to the myriad duties which fell to him in that capacity.

Then too, no President could succeed without the help and advice of his predecessors in office and I am particularly indebted to Lt.-Col. W. H. Montague, the Immediate Past-President, and to all the other Past-Presidents who served on the Executive Committee, for their encouragement and most tangible assistance whenever there was work to be done. No President could ever have been more ably and generously supported than I, and I sincerely thank the Vice-Presidents, Officers and members of the Executive Committee.

It is a wise tradition that the President of The Empire Club of Canada must brood over the affairs of this great and historic institution for only one year of his life. During that year he has heavy duties and great satisfactions. At the end of the year he joins that elite and senatorial group—the Past Presidents. As members of the Empire Club, you will understand that we have a sense of affection and devotion to the Club and that any President making his final report must feel like a clergyman who has just preached his last sermon after a lifetime spent in a beloved parish, or like a Commander who has just given up the command of his own Regiment. All of those emotions are present, but they are not dominant because The Empire Club of Canada is a living and growing association with its roots deep in the life of Canada and deep in the traditions of the Commonwealth. Although the Club is old, there is a powerful corps of seasoned and serior members, augmented by a group of young and brilliant men, serving on its Executive Committee and throughout the membership, who will in turn add to the Club's lustre.

It has been one of the highest imaginable honours to act as your President for the year which is just ending. It has been an eminent distinction to serve The Empire Club of Canada. I know that its greatness will continue to flow through your new President and his successors who will always be attracted to our esteemed and famous forum.

I now have the honour to ask Colonel Donald Jupp, a distinguished Past President of the Club and the Chairman of the Nominating Committee to make his Committee's recommendations for your new President and Board of Directors.

COL. JUPP: It is a pleasure to put before you the names of thirty distinguished gentlemen who have been nominated to serve on the Board of Directors of your Club for the year 1958-9. In so doing, I feel that we are extremely fortunate in being able to select such a group of able people whose interest in and support of, the aims and objects of the Empire Club is such that they are willing to serve on the Board. You will note that I shall read their names in alphabetical order.

Ian S. Baxter
Douglas Best
John L. Bonus
F. Joseph Cornish, Q.C.
S. S. Fletcher
C. Sydney Frost Jr.
Marvin Gelber
Harold G. Gillingham
Dr. C. C. Goldring
John W. Griffin
Hon. Paul T. Hellyer, M. P.
Lt. Col. N. D. Hogg, M.B.E., E.D.
Dr. E. M. Howes
A. E. M. Inwood
H. R. Jackman, Q.C.
Donald H. Jupp, O.B.E.
J. Palmer Kent, Q.C.
Arthur J. Langley
Harold R. Lawson
Lt. Col. Bruce J. Legge, E.D.
Joseph McCulley
J. B. McGeachy
D. G. C. Menzel
Lt. Col. W. H. Montague, O.B.E., E.D.
Dr. James A. Parish
Z. S. Phimister
Brig. W. S. Rutherford, E.D.
J. R. Smeed
R. Bredin Stapells
Alexander Stark, Q.C.

As no other nominations have been received at the Secretary's Office, I move the election of those named.

It is also the duty of the Nominating Committee to recommend a slate of officers and I therefore have pleasure in making known the proposal we make to the incoming Board in this respect:—

President Harold R. Lawson.

No one, Mr. Chairman, has earned this honour more thoroughly than Harold Lawson whose devotion to the affairs of the Empire Club over a long period of years has been exemplary. You have heard him thank our distinguished speaker today, but I should like to give a short sketch of his background. Born in Toronto 51 years ago, he joined the Crown Life Insurance Company after graduating from North Toronto Collegiate Institute. By characteristic application to his studies he became a Fellow of the Society of Actuaries in 1933. There was an interlude from 1945 until 1952 when he lived in Worcester, Massachusetts only to return to Canada in a blaze of glory, to the accompaniment of newspaper headlines which many will remember, as Vice-President and Managing Director of the

National Life Assurance Company. He has been President since 1955, succeeding in that office Empire Club Past President the late Robert Fennell, Q.C.

A most important qualification which Mr. Lawson possesses is that he has attended Empire Club meetings for over 30 years but among his other activities, I should highlight the Board of Governors of the Society of Actuaries and Past President of the Canadian Association of Actuaries, Director of the United Community Fund and The Social Planning Council, Vice-Chairman of the Board of Trade Club and membership of the National, Granite and Rosedale Golf Clubs.

All will agree that it is a great day for the Empire Club that the Nominating Committee can recommend for President—56th President Mr. Harold Robert Lawson.

A strong team is recommended to support the new President:

1ST VICE-PRESIDENT: Alexander Stark, Q.C.
2ND VICE-PRESIDENT: Z. S. Phimister
3RD VICE-PRESIDENT: J. Palmer Kent, Q.C.
SECRETARY-TREASURER: H. Vernon Hearst, Q.C.
HONORARY SECRETARY: Ernest Miles
ASSISTANT SECRETARY: Dr. C. B. Crummey
HONORARY TREASURER: W. W. Comber, C.A.
ASSISTANT TREASURER: R. Ford Ralph
IMMEDIATE PAST PRES.: Lt. Col. Bruce J. Legge, E.D.

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA, TORONTO, ONTARIO

REPORT AND ACCOUNTS

30th April, 1959

The President and Directors,
The Empire Club of Canada,
Toronto, Ontario.

GENTLEMEN,

We have examined the books and accounts of The Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Ontario, and have prepared and attach a Statement of Receipts and Payments for the year ended 30th April, 1959.

We report thereon as follows:—

Membership Fees:

We are satisfied that, in total, all 1958-1959 fees receivable from Members on record as in good standing as at 30th April, 1959 have been accounted for.

The Life Membership Fees received during the fiscal years 1958 and 1959 amounting in total to $225.00 have not been invested in Government Bonds as required by the Agreement reached at a meeting of the Officers and Committee Members of the Executive held on 15th April, 1953.

Membership Roll:

Following is a summary of the Membership Roll for the year:—

	Resident	*Non-Resident*	*Honorary and Life*	*Total*
Membership Roll as at 30th April, 1958	2,333	96	30	2,459
Net Increase or (Decrease)	(27)	5	1	(21)
	2,306	101	31	2,438

The Secretary-Treasurer has certified that the Roll as at 30th April, 1959 contained 2,438 Members as above.

Payments:

All payments made during the year were authorized by the Board of Directors.

Liabilities:

The President of the Club has certified that there were no outstanding accounts as at 30th April, 1959.

Fidelity Bond:

Mr. H. V. Hearst, the Secretary-Treasurer, is bonded for $1,000.00.

Insurance:

Office Furniture is covered by a fire insurance policy in the amount of $725.00.

Acknowledgement:

We express our appreciation of the courtesy and assistance extended to us during the course of our audit.

Reported by,

H. T. JAMIESON, LEMAY & COMPANY,
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS,
Honorary Auditors.

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA, TORONTO, ONTARIO
THE ANNUAL FINANCIAL STATEMENT

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 30TH APRIL, 1959

Cash on Hand and in Bank 30th April, 1958				$2,356.29
Current Receipts:				
Membership Fees		$11,892.00		
Proceeds from Sale of Year Book		3.50		
Interest—Bank	$ 82.32			
—Bonds	127.50	209.82	$12,105.32	
Current Payments:				
Luncheon Expense—net of proceeds of sale of tickets		$ 1,385.00		
Honoraria:				
Secretary	$400.00			
Treasurer	150.00			
Secretary-Treasurer	750.00	1,300.00		
Miscellaneous Expenses		283.62		
Music		280.00		
Office Renovations		345.02		
Printing, Stationery and Postage		3,977.44		
Printing 1957-58 Year Book		3,972.70		
Recording and Publicity		284.95		
Rent		240.00		
Speaker's Fees and Expenses		325.00		
Telephone and Telegraph		170.33	12,564.06	
Excess of Current Payments over Current Receipts				458.74
				$1,897,55
Life Membership Fees Received				75.00
Cash on Hand and in Bank as at 30th April, 1959				$1,972.55

We report that we have examined the books and accounts of The Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Ontario, for the year ended 30th April, 1959 and have obtained all the information and explanations we have required and that, in our opinion, the above statement shows correctly the Receipts and Payments of the Club for the year ended 30th April, 1959.

In addition to the Cash Balance of $1,972.55 the Club held at 30th April, 1959 $3,400.00 Par Value Dominion of Canada 4½% Bonds maturing 1st September, 1983.

At 30th April, 1959, the Club was committed to publish the 1958-59 Year Book at an estimated cost of $4,300.00.

H. T. JAMIESON, LEMAY & COMPANY,
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS,
Honorary Auditors.

Toronto, Ontario.
17th August, 1959.

OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

1959-1960

Honorary President: Field Marshal The Right Honourable Earl Alexander of Tunis

Officers:

President: Harold R. Lawson
First Vice-President: Alexander Stark, Q.C.
Second Vice-President: Z. S. Phimister
Third Vice-President: J. Palmer Kent, Q.C.,
Secretary-Treasurer: H. V. Hearst, Q.C.
Hon. Secretary: Ernest Miles
Asst. Secretary: Dr. Clarence B. Crummey
Hon. Treasurer: W. W. Comber, C.A.
Asst. Treasurer: R. Ford Ralph
Hon. Auditor: H. T. Jamieson, F.C.A.

Executive Committee:

Ian S. Baxter
Douglas Best
John L. Bonus
F. Joseph Cornish, Q.C.
S. S. Fletcher
C. Sydney Frost Jr.
Marvin Gelber
Harold G. Gillingham
John W. Griffin
Hon. Paul T. Hellyer
Lt. Col. N. D. Hogg, M.B.E., E.D.
Rev. E. M. Howse, S.T.M., Ph.D., D.D.
Arthur E. M. Inwood
H. R. Jackman, Q.C.
Arthur J. Langley
Joseph McCully
J. B. McGeachy
David G. C. Menzel
Dr. James A. Parish
Brig. W. S. Rutherford, E.D.
J. R. Smeed
R. Bredin Stappells

Immediate Past President:

Lt. Col. Bruce Legge, E.D.

Past Presidents:

Lt. Col. W. H. Montague, O.B.E., E.D.
Dr. C. C. Goldring
Donald H. Jupp, O.B.E.

CONSTITUTION

INSTITUTED 1903

THE OBJECT OF THE CLUB IS THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE INTERESTS OF CANADA AND A UNITED COMMONWEALTH AND EMPIRE

Organization of the Club and Branches

Art. 1.—(1) The organization shall be called The Empire Club of Canada.

(a) "The purposes and objects of the Club shall include the consideration and discussion of subjects and events affecting the interests of the British Commonwealth and Empire and the promotion of unity among the nations and members within the British Commonwealth and Empire.

(2) Branches of the club may be established with the authority of the Executive Committee, and subject to such conditions and regulations as may from time to time be decided upon by the Club in Toronto.

(3) A committee may be appointed under the provisions of sub-section 2, article 1, for the establishment of branches of the Club, and the word "Unit" shall denote a Branch.

Classes of Members

Art. 2.—The Membership of the Club shall consist of

(a) Active Resident Members,
(b) Non-Resident Members,
(c) Life Members,
(d) Honorary Members,
(e) Associate Members,
(f) Corporate or Sustaining Members.

All members must be of the full age of sixteen years, and members of classes (a), (b), (c), (d) and (f) must be British subjects.

Active Resident, Non-Resident and Associate Members

Art. 3.—(1) Candidates for Active Resident, Non-Resident and Associate Membership shall be proposed and seconded by two members of the Club in good standing, and shall be elected by a two-thirds majority of those present at any meeting of the Executive Committee.

(2) Subject to sub-section 4 of this article Active Resident, Associate, Non-Resident and Life Members shall pay respectively such annual fees as may be fixed from time to time by the Board of Directors, and no member in arrears for fees shall be considered in good standing or be eligible for office.

(3) Associate members shall not have the privilege of voting or holding office.

(4) Members whose applications for membership are received after the first day of April in any year shall pay one annual fee only in respect of the period from that time till the 30th day of September in the following calendar year.

Life Members

Art. 4.—(1) Members of the Club in good standing, and other persons regularly proposed and accepted, may be created Life Members of the Club by a two-thirds majority of those present at a meeting of the Executive Committee.

(2) Life Members shall pay a fee of $75.00 in one sum.

Honorary Members

Art. 5.—(1) Honorary Members may be elected upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee, and at a general meeting of the Club.

(2) Honorary Members shall be exempt from the payment of fees, but shall not have the privilege of voting or holding office.

Corporate or Sustaining Members

Art. 5A—Any company, partnership or business organization shall be eligible for election as a Corporate or Sustaining Member. Applicants shall be proposed by two Active Resident Members of the Club in good standing and the application shall contain the name and position of the Officer nominated by the Applicant as its Candidate for membership. The Applicant and its Nominee shall be elected by a two-thirds majority of those present at any meeting of the Executive Committee. A Sustaining or Corporate Member shall pay an annual fee of $50.00 which shall include the fee of its representative member.

Officers to be Elected

Art. 6.—(1) The business of the Club shall be managed by a Board of Directors who may exercise all such powers and do all such acts and things that may be exercised or done by the Club and are not by the constitution or by statute expressly directed or required to be done by the Club at a general meeting of its members.

(2) The Board of Directors shall consist of 30 members of the Club who shall be elected annually at a general meeting held not later than April 30th in each year.

(3) The Board of Directors may include seven past presidents of the Club, one of whom shall be the immediate past president and three others shall consist of the three past presidents immediately preceding the immediate past president, if they are available and willing to act as directors.

(4) The Board of Directors shall meet as soon as convenient after their appointment for the purpose of appointing the officers of the Club (except the auditor or honorary auditor), for the year ending on April 30th but each officer shall continue in office until his successor is elected.

(5) The officers shall consist of an Honorary President, President, first, second and third Vice-presidents, Honorary Treasurer, Honorary Secretary, a Secretary-Treasurer, and if considered necessary by the Directors, an Assistant-Secretary, an Assistant Treasurer and an Honorary Auditor. The Honorary President, the Honorary Treasurer, the Honorary Secretary, the Secretary-Treasurer and the Honorary Auditor are not required to be Directors of the Club.

(6) In the event of any vacancy occurring in the office of Director, the remaining directors may fill the vacancy from among the members for the unexpired portion of the term of office of the person whose office is vacant.

(7) The election of the members of the Board of Directors at a general meeting called for that purpose shall be by adoption of a resolution proposed by the chairman or acting chairman of a nominating committee. The nominating committee consisting of five members of the Board of Directors and four other members of the Club shall be appointed by the Board of Directors and approved at a regular or special meeting of the Club not less than four and not more than six weeks before the Annual Meeting. The Chairman of the Nominating Committee shall report the recommendations of that committee to the Annual Meeting. If nominations do not exceed the number of Directors necessary, the Chairman of the Meeting may instruct the Secretary-Treasurer, to cast one ballot in favour of those so nominated and thereupon such persons shall be declared by the Chairman to have been duly elected.

(8) The Nominating Committee shall recommend to the Board of Directors the proposed officers of the Club for the ensuing year, except the auditor or honorary auditor, and shall report their recommendations to the Annual Meeting, and the auditor or honorary auditor shall be elected at each Annual Meeting.

(9) Standing Committees shall be appointed as follows:
- (a) Budget and Finance Committee.
- (b) Speakers' Committee.
- (c) Membership Committee.
- (d) Constitution Committee.
- (e) Luncheon and Reception Committee.
- (f) Publicity Committee.
- (g) Year Book Committee.

Filling of Vacancies Among Officers

Art. 7.—In the event of an office becoming vacant by death, resignation, or otherwise, the vacancy thus caused shall be filled by the Executive Committee and the person so chosen shall hold office until the next Annual Meeting.

Duties of Officers

Art. 8.—The duties of the Officers shall be those customary to such positions in similar organizations.

Holding of Meetings

Art. 9.—(1) The Club shall hold general meetings weekly, if possible, from October to April, both inclusive, in each twelve months with such intermissions as from time to time may be decided upon.

(2) At the Annual Meeting a report of the year's proceedings and work shall be submitted by the President, and this report shall be accompanied by an interim report from the Treasurer. An audited statement of the finances of the Club for the full financial year shall be published in the Year Book.

Notice of Meetings

Art. 10.—Written or printed notices of all meetings shall be given to the members of the Club. Such notices shall be sufficient if addressed to the members, and deposited post paid in the post office in Toronto.

Quorum at Meetings

Art. 11.—Fifteen members in good standing shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Club, general, annual or special, and the presiding officer shall have a casting vote. Nine members shall form a quorum of the Executive Committee.

Limitation of Business at General Meetings

Art. 12.—No business other than the hearing of the addresses and notices of motion shall be introduced at any meeting of the Club, unless it has been submitted to the Executive Committee and received its approval.

Calling of Special Meetings

Art. 13.—Meetings of the Executive Committee shall be called by the President, or on a requisition signed by three of its members. Special meetings of the Club may be called by the President, and shall be called by him on a requisition signed by twelve members and stating the object of the meeting. This object shall be stated in the notice calling the special meeting.

Financial Year

Art. 14.—The Financial Year of the Club shall begin on the first day of May in each year and end on the thirtieth day of April in the year following.

Amendments to Constitution

Art. 15.—This Constitution may be amended at the Annual Meeting, or at a special meeting called for that purpose, subject to a two thirds majority vote of the members present.

MEMBERSHIP

as at May 20, 1959

LIFE MEMBERS

Bruce, Hon. Dr. Herbert
Clouse, F. L.
Cobham, Arthur H.
Cosens, Gordon G.
Eaton, Donald L. H.
Gardiner, F.G., Q.C.
Gibson, D. H., C.B.E.
Gordon, Crawford Jr.
Hough, Thomas Edward
Johnston, Wm. D.
MacKendrick, Col. W.G., D.S.O.
Maher, James P.
Murdoch, J. Y., Q.C., LL.D.
Ridley, John B.
Roman, Stephen B.
Rosen, Allen E.
Sandy, J.
Scythes, J. A.
Smeed, J. R.
Suchorab, S. A.
Thomson, Garth O.
Thomson, K. R.
Tindall, H. B.
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Gerow, Frank T.
Gerrard, William
Gerstein, Bertrand
Gianelli, Brig. Norman A.
Gibbens, W. M.
Gibbons, J. Robert
Gibson, Hon. Justice Colin
Gibson, Harold
Gibson, J. Douglas
Gilbride, W. P.
Gilchrist, Dr. A. J.
Gilchrist, Prof. Lachlan
Giles, T. S. H.
Gill, Capt. Cecil
Gillanders, Dr. E. B.
Gillespie, A. Grant
Gillespie, Alastair W.
Gillespie, Ross R.
Gillespie, William
Gillham, John
Gillingham, W/C Harold G.
Gillis, Paul R.
Giles, W. H.
Gislason, Guy H.
Glennie, George H., C.A.
Godfrey, Frank
Godsall, Gordon H.
Godwin, F. W.
Gohn, Byron E.
Goldring, Dr. C. C.
Goldring, C. Warren
Goldring, Dr. L. W.
Goldsmith, Martin
Goldson, W. Leonard
Gontier, M.
Gooderham, F. L.
Gooderham, Lt.-Col. Melville S.
Goodfellow, Bruce
Goodman, Edwin A.
Goodman, Fred C., C.A., M.C.
Goodman, J. Edward
Goodman, John W.
Goodwin, Harley D.
Gordon, Ed.
Gordon, E. W.
Gordon, Irwin
Gordon, Col. J. Neil, D.S.O.
Gordon, K. E.
Gordon, William A.
Gordon, William E.
Gore, Graham M.
Gorham, John
Gorham, W. E.
Goss, H. Barton
Gossage, B. F.
Gossage, S. M.
Gourley, George
Gowdy, Douglas M.
Graham, D. M.
Graham, Dr. Howard
Graham, J. Lindsay
Graham, J. Rennie
Graham, Kingsley, Q.C.
Grainger, R. N.
Granatstein, Joseph

Grandy, T. C.
Grant, G. E.
Grant, James A.
Grant, J. R.
Grant, W. G. F.
Grasett, H. W. S.
Gray, Alexander
Gray, Rev. Bruce, D.D.
Gray, E. N.
Gray, K. J.
Gray, W. B.
Green, David T.
Green, J. D.
Green, Joseph L.
Green, Robert M.
Greenglass, David
Greenglass, Morris
Gregg, L. T.
Gregor, Tibor P.
Greig, D. M.
Grier, Col. C. G. M., E.D., M.A.
Griffin, Allan
Griffin, H. A.
Griffin, John W.
Griffiths, F. D.
Grimbly, Maurice
Grosberg, Charles A.
Grose, George W.
Gross, Harold
Gundy, C. L.
Gunn, Major General John A
Gunn, Robert F.
Gunyon, C. Cecil
Guthrie, O. D.
Gutierrez, George
Guy, George H.

Hadden, Eugene R.
Hagerman, Dr. A. R.
Hagon, W. A.
Hahn, George
Hall, H. R. M.
Hall, Lt.-Col. I. C.
Hall, J. F.
Hall, John H.
Hall, William
Hall, William
Halls, Peter E.
Halsey, P. J.
Hambly, Herbert
Hambly, Samuel G.
Hamilton, A. E.
Hamilton, C. S.
Hamilton, John B., M.P.
Hamilton, John M.
Hamm, R. M.
Hancocks, Oliver
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Hanna, Wm. B.
Hanson, E.
Harbinson, V. D., F.C.A.
Harcourt, Major R. M.
Harding, John L.
Hargraft, George M.
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Hargreaves, Roy
Harper, Henry G.
Harper, R. J.
Harpham, Horace
Harrington, Dr. Paul
Harris, Edward L.
Harris, W. C.
Harrison, Kenneth J.
Harrison, Wm. H.
Hartwig, Frederick R.
Harvey, H. J.
Harvey, J. B.
Harvey, Warren G.
Harvey, Dr. W. J.
Hastings, C. E.
Hastings, Warren B.
Hatton, Rev. Noble
Hatton, Wm. T.
Hawes, Fred J.
Hay, Frank
Hayden, Hon. Salter A., Q.C.
Hayes, Barry B.
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Hayes, John D.
Hayman, J. L.
Hayter, E. W.
Hayward, A. P.
Hayward, Chester G.
Hawke, J. H.
Hawken, J. B.
Heal, R. F.
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Hearn, Dr. Richard
Hearst, H. V., Q.C.
Heath, L. B.
Helliwell, Paul

Hellyer, Paul T., M.P.
Helm, Clifford T.
Hendershot, F. D.
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Henderson, John J.
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Henry, E. F. L.
Henry, Edwin M.
Henson, R.C.C.
Henty, Sterndale
Herchmer, Lawrence S.
Hermant, Percy
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Heron, Matthew W.
Herrmeyer, C. F.
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Hewson, E. G.
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Hickey, Winston E.
Hicks-Lyne, Col. R. T. E.
Hickson, Donald E.
Higgins, Paul S.
Highmoor, C. K.
Hilborn, Robert H.
Hill, F. W.
Hill, John D.
Hill, J. V.
Hill, Roy C.
Hill, Wm. S.
Hillmer, R. W.
Hines, W. James
Hinton, D. R.
Hinton, Lloyd
Hiron, Allan F.
Hirst, Josh
Hobson, A.
Hodgins, Albert
Hodgson, Alfred J.
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Hogg, Lt.-Col. N. D., M.B.E., E.D.
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Hogton, A. E.
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Holditch, Ross O.
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Holland, Douglas F.
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Holmes, Hartley R
Holmes, M. W.
Holmes, Noel
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Johnson, Dr. Joseph
Johnson, Sidney
Johnston, Lt.-Col. Baptist, O.B.E., V.D.
Johnston, Erskine B.
Johnston, G. F.
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Johnston, John I.
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Jones, Terence L.
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Judd, John Patrick
Jupp, Donald H., O.B.E.

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Kerr, P. Gordon J.
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Kidd, David
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Kinghorn, A. A.
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Kingsmill, J. A.
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Kitchen, Dr. Irving D.
Kitchen, Rev. Sterling J.
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Koerner, Michael M.
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Lacey, Rev. E. C.
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Lacy, Wm. C.
La Ferle, Charles
Laffey, James V.
Laidley, Kenneth R.
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Lampert, H.
Lamport, Allan A.
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Lang, Lt. W. H.
Langer, Henry P.
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Large, Peter K.
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Laughlen, G. A.
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Laughlin, W. Fred
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Lavine, Arthur
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Lawlor, J. P.
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Lawrie, Donald L.
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Lawson, L. W.
Lawson, M. B. M.
Lawson, Ralph L.
Lawson, W. Luke
Laxton, Edward
Lay, Harry M.
Leake, G. Ray
Leahey, James C.
Leake, Ray
Leavitt, Alfred D.
Leal, H. Allan, Q.C.
Lebrocq, S. E.
LeCapelain, R. R.
Leck, R. H.
Leckey, R. G.
Leckey, Robert H.
Lee, Edward A.
Legge, B. J.
Legge, W. R.
Legrow, Rev. A. G.
Leibel, Dr. Bernard
Leibel, William
Leitch, J. D.
Leith, M. A.
LeMay, R. T. M., C.A.

Lemesurier, J. Ross
Lemon, Gordon L.
Lenker, J. L.
Lennie, E. D.
Levenston, Lt.-Col. G. F.
Levinter, Isadore, Q.C.
Levy, Mark A.
Levy, Mort. L., C.L.U.
Lewis, Dr. A. C.
Lewis, John M.
Lewis, Richard G.
Lewthwaite, R. G.
Lillie, R. J.
Lillyman, Reginald
Lindsay, B. B.
Lindsay, G. C.
Lindsley, T.
Linklater, James Wm.
Linney, H. J.
Linton, Hall
Liscombe, Wm. L.
Lister, M. Parker
Litteljohn, Glynn H.
Lithgow, J. H.
Little, F. M.
Little, William
Little, W. S.
Livingston, J. A.
Livingston, Wm. R.
Lizotte, Charles J.
Lloyd, Trevor
Lloyd, T. E.
Lockton, O. W.
Loewen, Lee
Lofquist, J. C.
Loftus, R.
Loftus, S.
London, Norman H.
Long, A. J. M.
Long, Norman W.
Longmore, D. E.
Loughty, W. B.
Lovering, His Honor Judge Egerton
Lovett, J. H.
Lowry, Frederick J.
Lucas, F. O.
Lucas, Gordon T.
Luck, E. H.
Lumbers, G. C.
Lundberg, Hans
Lundy, R. J.
Lundy, Stanley
Lush, H. V.
Luxenberg, Benjamin, Q.C.
Lyndon, Patrick
Lyons, E. C.
Lyons, John W.
Lyons, Lt.-Col. S. E.

Mabley, C. B.
MacAdam, Wm.
MacBride-Sourdis, Jorge
MacDiarmid, Kenneth H.
Macdiarmid, W. J. G.
MacDonald, Arthur A.
MacDonald, H. T.
MacDonald, J. K.
MacDonald, Murdoch K.
MacDonald, N. B.
Macdonell, Rex B. G.
MacDougall, W. Murray
MacEachern, Gordon A.
MacFadyen, W. T. A.
MacFarlane, Donald A.
MacFarlane, Dr. J. A.
MacFarlane, W. S.
MacKay, Justice F. G.
Macintosh, J.M., Q.C.
MacKelcan, Fred R.
MacKenzie, B. R. P.
MacKenzie, D. Rae
MacKenzie, R. D.
MacKerrow, Robert
MacKersy, L. S.
Mackie, Ernest B.
Mackie, R. A.
MacKinnon, Angus P.
MacKinnon, Peter B. L.
MacLaren, Ian
Maclean, Hugh J.
MacMillan, Dr. R. J.
Macnaughton, Alex., Q.C.
Macnaughton, A. C.
Macphee, Norman
MacPherson, Donald S.
MacRae, John
Maedel, Clare W.
Magee, E. D. B.
Magi, M. I.
Magwood, W. Marsh, Q.C.

Mainguy, Vice-Admiral E. R., O.B.E., C.D.
Male, W. Harold
Mancantelli, Robert J.
Mann, Major-Gen. C. Churchill
Manning, G. L.
Manning, J. R.
Mansfield, S. J.
Manton, Frank
Marchant, C. R.
Marchment, W. R.
Marcus, J. K.
Mark, Bernard B.
Mark, Howard S.
Markton, K. L.
Marley, Major E. H. M.B.E., T.D.
Marsden, G. R. C.
Marsh, Gordon F.
Marsh, Rev. Canon H. H.
Marshall, Arthur L.
Marshall, C. C.
Marshall, Ernest A.
Marshall, G. Murray
Marshall, Hilary
Marshall, Col. K. R.
Marston, A. H.
Martin, A. S.
Martin, Dr. Ernest
Martin J. C.
Martin, Walter M., Q.C.
Martyn, H. L.
Mason, G. A.
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Mason, V. K.
Mason, Wm. R.
Massie, Major J. H. C.
Massie, R. H. L.
Mathers, Wm. T.
Matthews, A. Bruce
Matthews, Brig. F. Beverley, C.B.E., Q.C.
Matthews, Frederick J.
Matthews, James G.
Mathews, Norman L., Q.C.
Matthews, Wilfrid E.
Maudsley, J. H.
Maxwell, Frank D.
May, George E. I.
May, Otto E.
Maybee, W. E.
Maynard, J. C.
Mayson, I. A.
Mayzel, Harry
Mayzel, Louis
Mazzoleni, Dr. E.
McAfee, Raymond E., C.A.
McAlpine, F.
McArthur, Melville H.
McAvoy, Louis Peter
McBain, Alex Mc.D.
McBride, Ernest W.
McCabe, V. J.
McCaffrey, E. R.
McCann, Fred V.
McCarthy, D'Alton
McCarthy, John
McCarthy, Stuart
McCartney, W. S.
McCaul, L. F.
McCausland, Gordon A.
McCausland, J. K.
McClatchie, John, C.A.
McClellan, L. A.
McClure, G. Chester
McCombe, C. Jefares
McConnell, J. E. Jr.
McCormack, T. G.
McCraw, D. F.
McCready, Emmerson J.
McCulley, Joseph
McCullough, J. L.
McCullough, John C.
McCully, Joseph E.
McCutcheon, M. W.
McCutcheon, W. L.
McDermid, Peter A.
McDonald, D. F.
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McDormand, Rev. Dr. T. B.
McDougald, J. A.
McDougall, R. G. M.
McDowell, George
McEachern, John M.
McEwen, Gordon C.
McGeachy, J. B.
McGill, Cecil D. O.
McGillawee, Ross
McGillion, F. B.
McGillivray, Justice George A.
McGillivray, T. A.

McGinnis, Lt.-Col. J. A.
McGowan, L. J.
McGregor, I. R.
McGuinness, M. B.
McIlmoyle, Austen B.
McInnes, Edgar
McInnes, John
McIntosh, Donald A.
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McKay, W.
McKay-Clements, J. L.
McKee, Dr. James A.
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McKinnon, G. D.
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McLaren, D. H.
McLaren, J. B.
McLaughlin, Paul
McLean, Hamilton A.
McLean, J. R.
McLeod, Dr. Alex. N.
McLeod, W. N.
McMahon, Hugh W.
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McMehen, C. G.
McMillan, Edwin
McMillan, G. A.
McMillan, Rev. Kenneth G.
McMillan, N. L.
McMillen, John B.
McMurtry, W. G. Warren
McNab, Lewis G.
McNair, F. A. R.
McNamara, John P.
McNeil, S. R. R.
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McNicol, J. A.
McParland, Donald J.
McPherson, R. S., F.C.A.
McQillin, C. W.
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McRae, Ian F.
McTague, Hon. C. P., Q.C. LL.D.
McTavish, C. E.
McTeer, George S.
McVey, Roy A.
Medhurst, C. E. H.
Medland, J. A.
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Meech, R. G., Q.C.
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Megginson, Clifford
Menzel, D. G. C.
Menzies, Harold
Meredith, J. W.
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Mess, Brigadier James
Messer, Harry W.
Mewhort, D. S.
Michell, C. A.
Michener, Hon. D. R., Q.C.
Middleton, John G., Q.C.
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Miles, Ernest
Miller, Andrew
Miller, G. C.
Miller, I. Lee
Miller, J. A. F.
Miller, James C.
Miller, T. D.
Millin, Rev. Leslie, F.R.G.S.
Mills, George Eaton
Mills, H. C.
Minden, Harold
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Mitchell, E. R.
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Moles, E. M.
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Monson, Rabbi David

Montague, Lt.-Col. W. H., O.B.E.
Montgomery, John E.
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Muir, Lt.-Col. Chas. A.
Muir, L. R.
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Murray, Major Gladstone
Murray, Parkyn Ian
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Parker, Fred T.
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Parks, Capt. Arthur H.
Parnell, John A., O.B.E.
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Parsons, Norman
Parsons, Robert C.
Parsons, Robert S., Jr.
Partridge, W. T.
Paterson, A. S.
Paterson, E., C.A.
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Paton, David S.
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Patterson, David S. L.
Patterson, Major W. E.
Pattison, Dr. C. L.
Pattison, E. W.
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Paulson, M. T.
Paumann, M. K.
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Peacock, H. Charles
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Pearce, Richard C.
Pearsall, C. F.
Pearson, E. G.
Peckover, George H.
Pedlar, Nelson
Peever, K. Davis
Pelton, R. R.
Pemberton, Frank E.
Penaligon, J. H. C.
Pennington, Roy O.
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Percy, J. L.
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Perkins, K. J.
Perrin, H. D.
Perry, Charles
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Peter, Frank
Petersen, N. F.
Petrie, Albert R.
Petrie, John S.
Pettit, Holland Jr.
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Phelan, R. G.
Philip, William
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Phillips, Gordon T.
Phillips, J. C.
Phillips, James F.
Phillips, Leslie
Phillips, Nathan, Q.C.
Phimister, Z. S.
Phipps, G. E.
Phipps, G. W.
Pickering, E. A.
Pickup, J. D.
Pierce, Dr. Lorne
Pike, Harry A.
Pilarek, Paul
Pilis, C. F.
Pilling, Herbert
Pink, J. W.
Pinker, Rev. Martin W. O.B.E.
Pitt, Arnold
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Plantner, J. F.

Playfair, S. B.
Plummer, Douglas
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Poole, W. J.
Porter, Hon. Dana H.
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Poulson, Andrew
Pounsett, F. H. R.
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Powley, H. L.
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Pratt, J. P., Q.C.
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Price, Peter M., P.ENG.
Price, Lieut.-Col. W. H.
Priddle, Roger
Prince, H. R.
Prior, Donald R.
Prior, Rev. Wm.
Pritchard, H. S.
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Proverbs, C. I.
Prowse, Russell A.
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Pullan, Harry
Purcell, Gillis
Purdy, Dr. Vernon W.

Quinn, Gerald

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Raleigh, Robert C.
Ralph, George W.
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Ramsay, Victor R.
Randall, H.
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Rawson, Clark M.
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Ray, Louis W.
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Rector, Luther G.
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Redford, Wm. J.
Redrupp, R. J.
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Rees-Evans, M. J. D.
Reeves, E. H.
Regan, Major N. H., M.B.E., C.D.
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Reid, R. F.
Rendall, S. D.
Rhind, J. A.
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Service, R. R.
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Sharp, Roy C., Q.C.
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Tobias, Fulton G.
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Turner, Newton H.
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Turville, Frank D., Q.C.
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Udell, F. E.
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Underell, J. W. J.
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Urquhart, Norman C.
Usher, Frank

Vale, Dennis B.
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Van Nostrand, Dr. F. H.
Vance, Wilfred T.
Vanderburg, L. E.
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Weinberg, Bernard
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Willinsky, Dr. A. I.
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Wilson, Robert A.
Wilson, Major C. H.
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